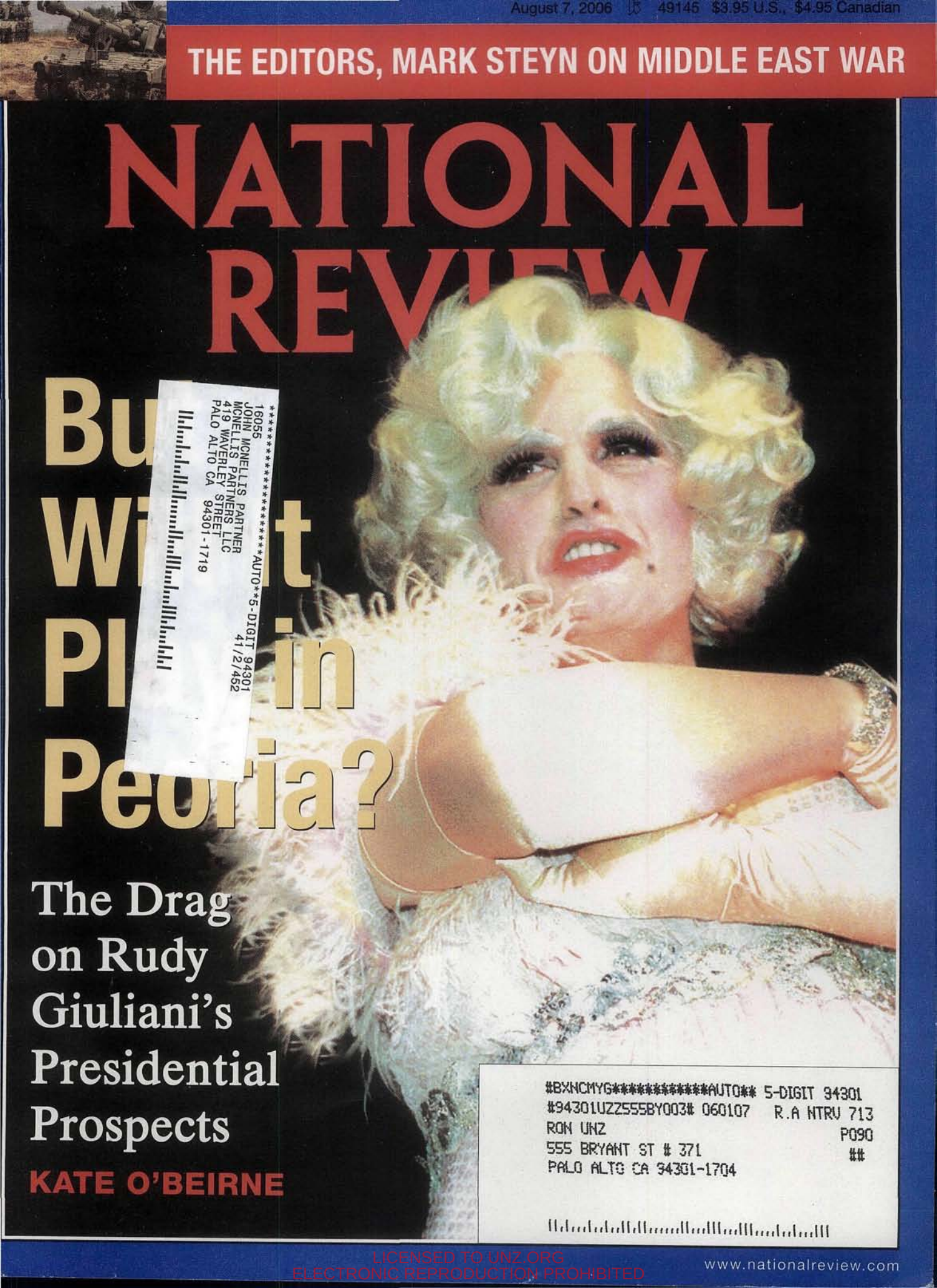
August 7, 2006 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

THE EDITORS, MARK STEYN ON MIDDLE EAST WAR

NATIONAL REVIEW

Bu Wi t Pl in Peoria?



The Drag on Rudy Giuliani's Presidential Prospects

KATE O'BEIRNE

16055
JOHN MCNELLIS PARTNER
MCNELLIS PARTNERS LLC
419 WAVERLEY STREET
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1719
**********AUTO**5-DIGIT 94301
41/2/452

#BXNCMYG**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 060107 R.A NTRU 713
RON UNZ P090
555 BRYANT ST # 371 ##
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In case of fraud, we believe our cardholders should have zero liability.

That's zero, as in zero.

At Visa, we continue to invest enormous human and financial resources in preventing and detecting fraud. While there's still work to be done, our efforts are clearly paying off.

First and foremost, our cardholders enjoy a remarkable degree of protection from fraud.

We were the leaders in introducing a Zero Liability Policy, which exceeds federal requirements. Zero Liability provides our cardholders 100% protection - they are not liable should fraudulent charges be made, online or off, on their credit or even their debit cards.*

Zero Liability is just one of the ways we at Visa are going the extra mile to protect our cardholders and make transactions safer. It's a responsibility we owe to them, and to ourselves. Because at the end of the day, what's good for our cardholders is good for our business.

For more information
visit us at www.visa.com/security

VISA

DATA SECURITY

* U.S. issued cards only. Visa's Zero Liability Policy does not apply to commercial credit card, or ATM transactions, or PIN transactions not processed by Visa. Cardholder must notify card issuer promptly of unauthorized use. Consult issuer for additional details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUGUST 7, 2006 VOL. LVIII, NO. 14

NATIONAL REVIEW

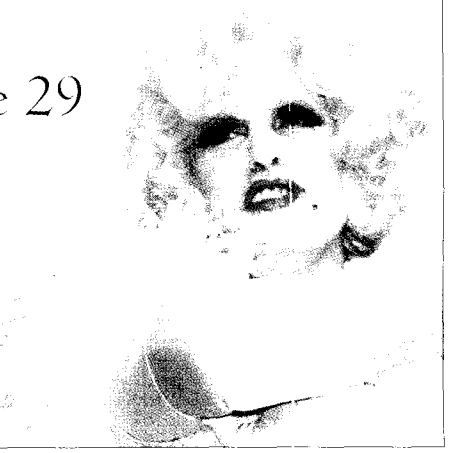
www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER STORY

The Mayor Who Would Be President

Rudy Giuliani became "America's Mayor" when he confidently took charge after the terrorist attacks of September 11. In the political-leadership sweepstakes, Giuliani is A-number-one, top of the list, king of the hill. But Sinatra's catchy claim is turned on its head in the presidential sweepstakes: When it comes to winning over GOP primary voters, if you can make it in New York, you can't make it anywhere. *By Kate O'Beirne*

Page 29



ARTICLES

18 The Sham of 'Sunshine' *by Jason Lee Steorts*
South Korea's policy toward the North does no good.

21 A New Ally *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
The nuclear deal cements our relationship with India.

24 How Now, Cowboy? *by Victor Davis Hanson*
The uses and abuses of a national icon.

26 Watch Ann Go *Whoosh! by Florence King*
Analyzing La Coulter.

29 The Mayor Who Would Be President *by Kate O'Beirne*
Or would he? A look at Rudy's career, character, and prospects.

31 The Carolina Kid *by Byron York*
Or at least that's what John McCain hopes to be, this time around.

34 Chafee's Challenger *by John J. Miller*
Stephen Laffey tries to knock off the most liberal Republican senator.

36 A Whale of a Party
For a whale of a guy.

COVER: *Joe Demaria/AP*

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

44 Worth Fighting For—*Tracy Lee Simmons* . . . Honor: A History, *by James Bowman*

45 A Dark Era Dawns—*Duncan Currie* . . . Guests of the Ayatollah: The First Battle in America's War with Militant Islam, *by Mark Bowden*

47 Lessons Learned—*Mackubin Thomas Owens* . . . The Past as Prologue: The Importance of History to the Military Profession, *edited by Williamson Murray and Richard Hart Sinnreich*

49 Gravy Train—*Michael J. New* . . . The Big Ripoff: How Big Business and Big Government Steal Your Money, *by Timothy P. Carney*

50 Music: A Monster & More—Jay Nordlinger on composers and their recent works.

52 The Straggler: I Sing the Hobby Electric—John Derbyshire plugs in.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 The Week
40 Help!
41 The Long View
48 Poetry
54 On the Right
56 Happy Warrior

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2006. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

August 7 issue; printed July 20

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editors
Dorothy McCartney / Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Deputy Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editors
Anthony Dick / Alston B. Ramsay
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Erin Carden
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Elizabeth M. Fisher
Jane Buckley Smith
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn /
Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Webmaster Nathan Goulding
Associate Editor Maximilian Pakaluk

CHAIRMAN
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. (ret.)
John O'Sullivan
Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / Michael Novak
Alan Reynolds / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Ralph de Toledano
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Assistant to the Publisher Russell Jenkins
Assistant to the CEO Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Irina Dynkevich
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Elena Koly
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler

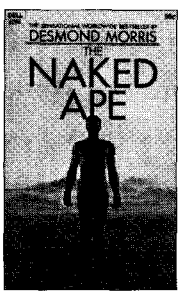
CEO
Edward A. Capano

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

letters to the editor

POINT . . .

George Gilder's "Evolution and Me" (July 17) is a wonderful essay, exposing as it does the limitations of Darwinian theory and other assumptions that currently underpin man's probing of the cosmos, the origins of life, and the human mind. The limitations of Darwin's evolution are manifest: Evolution never invents anything but only modifies life under changing environmental conditions; "change or perish" is the basic code. Darwinism has never explained the origin of life, as perhaps science cannot. Man may be on the fringes of understanding some of the complexity of the cosmos and life, but it will take real humility—and an acknowledgment that we know but little compared with the mysteries of the universe—if we are to move forward. Gilder provides a realistic new platform from which we should try to understand the world around us.



Glenn Waterman
Bainbridge Island, Wash.

. . . COUNTERPOINT

Having read George Gilder's article, I am no more convinced of Intelligent Design than I was before I started it; in fact, I'd say I'm more *un*convinced. I expected at least some rational arguments for Intelligent Design, but there was almost no insight based on facts: Gilder handwaves, produces no evidence, and does not make any verifiable predictions. He also says things that are flat wrong. Contrary to his assertions, evolutionary biology is able to explain cooperative behavior, and evolutionary biologists have offered replies to Michael Behe's "irreducible complexity" argument (to pick just two examples). If I am to distill the argument he presents I would paraphrase it thus: "What I see in biological systems is too complicated for me to understand or comprehend, therefore God must have done it." This is the kernel of ID theory? No scientific experimentation, no verifiable predictions, and poorly formulated logic? In the future, should I expect learned articles explaining the secret meanings behind Crop Circles, UFOs, Atlantis, and Bigfoot?

Dr. Michael J. Wolkowicz
Via e-mail

SPACE CADETS?

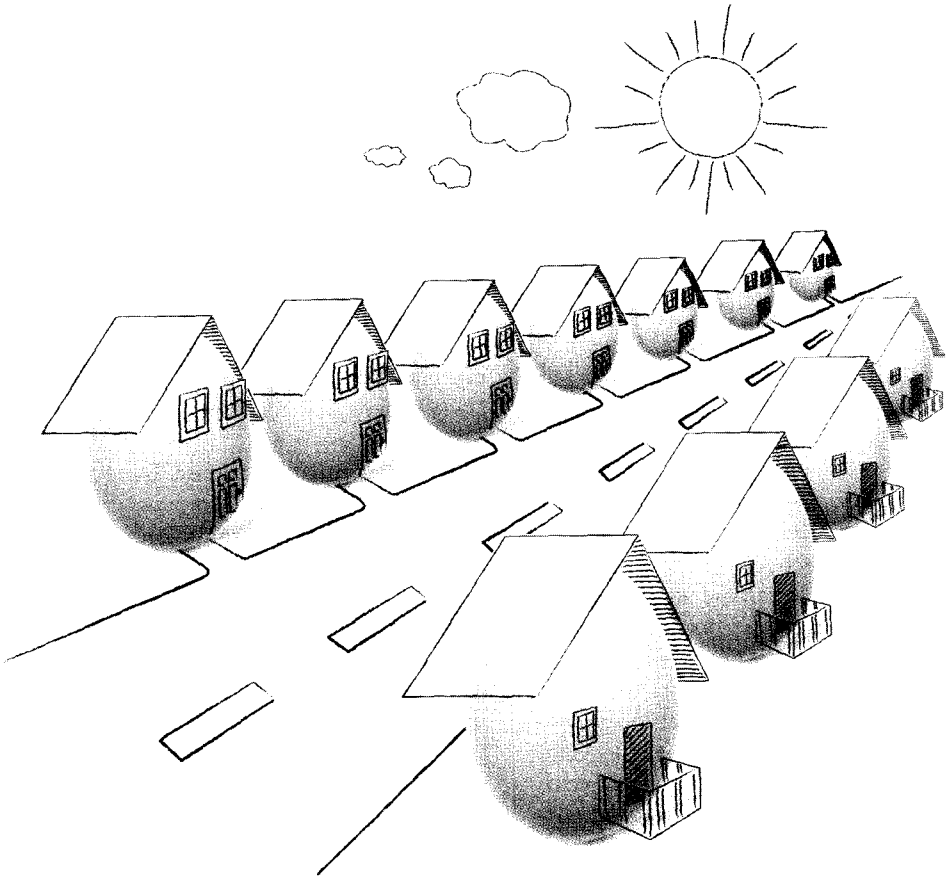
As a longtime space advocate, I must take issue with John Derbyshire's article "Space Is for Science" (June 5). Yes, space science is very important, but what really advances the human spirit is human beings' exploring, and eventually living in, new frontiers. Space, the "final frontier," needs to be explored by people, and money must be allocated to this, even, I would contend, at the expense of unmanned scientific missions. While the private-enterprise space industry is finally starting to become a reality, major projects like moon bases and missions to Mars must still be funded by governments, because the expense is beyond private resources. Reasonable minds can disagree about the proper allocation of limited resources between human and robotic exploration of space. But let us not doubt that there is a place for humans in the stars.

Frank P. Mann
Syracuse, N.Y.

JOHN DERBYSHIRE REPLIES: If "what really advances the human spirit is human beings' exploring, and eventually living in, new frontiers," then let's get to work populating Antarctica: It would be about 1,000 times cheaper. In any case, I think it was clear from my article that I have no objection whatever to the human exploration of space, only to the government funding of such exploration, which, it seems, serves no public interest justifying such large expenses.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Eggonomics.

Where do most of America's homeowners keep most of their savings?

In their home. It's their nest egg.

Home equity is the cornerstone of family wealth. For over half of America's homeowners, at least fifty percent of their wealth is the equity in their homes.

And Freddie Mac helps make homeownership possible.

Freddie Mac makes mortgage money available, so lenders can make more home loans. We've helped over forty-four million families own their own home.

And since nearly twenty percent of America's economy is home and housing related, Freddie Mac helps strengthen America's future.

Freddie Mac. Our mission is to make home possible. And it's working.

Freddie Mac

We make home possible℠

www.FreddieMac.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Assorted celebrities are taking turns fasting for a day, in what they call a "rolling hunger strike." They are protesting the Iraq War. We applaud their humanitarianism: Many personal chefs will get a day off.

■ Later, the celebrities can go second-home-less for the poor.

■ Twenty-nine Democratic senators voted to authorize the Iraq War. But none of them really *meant* that vote quite the way Joe Lieberman did. The Connecticut senator didn't try to weasel his way out of his support when the war turned out to be much harder than most of its supporters had expected. That, coupled with the reasonable, bipartisan tone he brings to politics generally, has marked the otherwise down-the-line liberal Lieberman as an object of hate for the left-wing blogosphere. The bloggers have boosted the primary challenge of anti-war millionaire Ned Lamont, as pure a representative of the Dean wing of the party as Markos Moulitsas could possibly imagine. Lamont is such a threat to Lieberman that the senator has had to hedge his bets and prepare to run as an independent should he lose the August 8 primary. A Lieberman loss would be a boost to the GOP insofar as it would show the Democrats are allergic to hawkishness of any kind, even on the part of their 2000 vice-presidential nominee. But his defeat wouldn't serve the nation well. The country is better off with a Democratic party that includes at least some officeholders who favor the vigorous prosecution of the war. So we wish Lieberman well, realizing that the last thing he needs at the moment is the support of conservatives.

■ So now we know. After three years of virtual silence, columnist Robert Novak has revealed how he learned about Valerie Plame, the former CIA employee at the heart of the CIA leak investigation. Plame and her publicity-seeking husband, Joseph Wilson, have claimed that they were targets of a nefarious conspiracy at the very highest levels of the U.S. government. According to their scenario, megaphoned in the left-wing blogosphere, Dick Cheney, Karl Rove, Scooter Libby, and others conspired to leak Plame's supposedly covert CIA identity to Novak as punishment for her husband's publicity-seeking criticisms of the war in Iraq. But now we find that Novak did not learn about Plame from the Cheney camp but from someone—as yet unnamed—who apparently had nothing to do with the fantasized conspiracy. (Novak will not reveal his source, but everyone believes it is former State Department official Richard Armitage, a man very far from Cheney.) So it's all over, folks—there was no conspiracy. And that is a serious problem for Plame and Wilson. Facing the end of their claim to fame, the two have now filed a lawsuit against—you guessed it—Cheney, Rove, and Libby. Perhaps it will bring Joseph Wilson a few more speaking engagements—did we mention he is a publicity seeker?—but most legal analysts, including some on the left, say the case has zero merit. So by any reasonable standard, this marks the end of the CIA leak "scandal." You may officially stop paying attention.

■ With the collapse of the CIA leak case, we have an idea for prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald: Perhaps he should now try to get to the bottom of a leak that, unlike the Plame/Wilson matter, has truly damaged national security. By that, we mean the media's exposure of the details of the Treasury Department's surveillance of terrorist finance. There seems little question that the program was effective, legal, and no threat to civil liberties. But the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, over the objections of Republicans and Democrats alike, published their stories anyway. We think that was a despicable act, but it was one the papers may have had a legal right to commit. Now, however, the U.S. government should exercise its legal right—indeed, its obligation—to find, prosecute, and punish whoever is responsible for leaking this highly classified program. Back when the CIA leak case was first in the news, it took pressure from the agency's then-director George Tenet to get the Justice Department to investigate. Once that happened, prosecutor Fitzgerald got tough with reporters and found the leakers. He played hardball, and we didn't always agree with his tactics. But the investigation set a new precedent for dealing with leakers. Now it's time for the Treasury Department to show some toughness of its own and insist on a full-scale Justice Department investigation.

Late Edition

imes

ONE DOLLAR

BANK DATA SIFTED IN SECRET BY U.S. TO BLOCK TERROR

POST-9/11 HUSH INITIATIVE

Safeguards in Place Limit Searches, but Officials Note Privacy Issues

■ The president now says that he favors "enforcement first" on immigration, just as we do—but he may not mean by it the same thing we do. What we mean is that Congress should step up enforcement, at the border and at the workplace, and then in a few years consider whether to create a guest-worker program and enact an amnesty. Splitting the issues this way would have several advantages. The administration and its allies insist that enforcement is impossible, and that a guest-worker program is the only way even to know who is coming here. We should make a serious effort at enforcement to test this theory. And if it turns out that we can enforce our immigration laws, we can then consider whether any of the other arguments for a guest-worker program and an amnesty are compelling enough to justify them. But they will have to win public support themselves, rather than piggybacking on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cutting-Edge Commentary on Public Policy

HOOVER DIGEST
RESEARCH AND OPINION ON PUBLIC POLICY

FREE ISSUE

Receive a complimentary issue of the latest Digest without obligation.

Call 800.935.2882 or visit www.hooverdigest.org

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

In the new issue of the Hoover Digest . . .

What Ancient History Tells Us about the Present

Our strange indifference to events south of the border

Since the election of Hugo Chavez as president of Venezuela in 1998, there has been a drastic erosion of U.S. influence south of the Rio Grande. The most recent manifestations are the election victories of the coca-chewing populist Evo Morales in Bolivia and of the socialist Michelle Bachelet in Chile. And the anti-U.S. Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador may very well be elected president of Mexico in July.

It's not as if the new populists in Latin America are trying to duck our attention. Recently Chavez declared, "I think Hitler would be like a suckling baby next to George W. Bush." If Chavez were a Muslim leader, this would be front-page news. But because he says it in Spanish, everyone yawns. Come on, folks. Chavez is sitting on top of 6.5 percent of the world's proven oil reserves.

—Niall Ferguson

A Star Is Born

Auf wiedersehen, Gerhard Schröder. Guten tag, Angela Merkel

Although the new German chancellor, Angela Merkel, has a lot of work to do to revive her country's economy, on foreign affairs, she has already demonstrated a voice of moral seriousness and balanced judgment. Perhaps this has something to do with her coming of age in the police state of Erich Honeker's East Germany.

Consider, for example, Mrs. Merkel's response to Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad: "The absolutely unacceptable provocations of the Iranian president demand a reply from us. No one who has questioned the right of Israel to exist and disavowed the existence of the Holocaust can expect Germany to show the least tolerance in these questions. We [Germans] have learned from our history."

—Tod Lindberg

HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

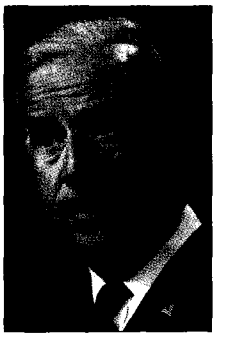
Hoover Institution Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010 Tel: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

enforcement the public wants. This is not too demanding a standard. It asks only that Washington prove its seriousness about enforcing any set of immigration policies before creating new ones.

■ Courts do follow the election returns, to some extent. In Georgia, Nebraska, Connecticut, and New York, state and federal courts have allowed the marriage laws enacted by state legislatures and popular initiatives to stand, declining to impose same-sex marriage. New York's court even ventured to explain why a rational legislature could decide to recognize only the union of a man and a woman as a marriage. So the people's will is prevailing, until the courts change their minds or Justice Kennedy chooses to drag us toward enlightenment. It would be better to enact a constitutional amendment that removed this matter from their hands.



KEVIN DIETSCH/UPI

■ Sen. Joe Biden, the blowhard from Delaware, was in the center of a little storm, thanks to what he had said. This is a familiar position for Biden. But, for once, the storm was absurd. C-SPAN showed a clip of Biden bouncing around New Hampshire, in anticipation of 2008, no doubt. Meeting an Indian-American activist, he said, "In Delaware, the largest growth in population is Indian Americans moving from India. You cannot go to a 7-Eleven or a Dunkin' Donuts unless you have a slight Indian accent. I'm not joking." Biden's wording, as usual, was clumsy. (He meant, for example, that these shops are owned and staffed by Indian Americans.) But his intent was far from malicious. Many people, especially Republicans, came down on Biden like a ton of bricks. The senator did some backpedaling. But we say to our fellow Americans: Come on. And if you don't like Joe Biden on this subject, you'll really hate *The Simpsons*.

■ Any Washington power player seeking a weekend home in a quiet seaside spot might want to look at the east side of Chesapeake Bay. Both Vice President Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld have houses there, both in the same "primly groomed waterside village." That quote is from the *New York Times*, which went on not only to name the village, but also to give detailed directions to both the Cheney and Rumsfeld residences. The *Times* also gave precise descriptions of the two properties, down to the tall, one-hole birdhouse in front of the Rumsfeld property, of which our intrepid reporter remarked that: "The lens in the hole suggests another function." You might, of course, read this as a straightforward travel piece about the beauties of the Maryland shore, with the Cheney and Rumsfeld houses thrown in for side interest. However, the track record of the *Times* in the matters of respect for our president and his officers, and for the plain demands of national security, suggests another function.

■ The House voted overwhelmingly to renew the "emergency" provisions of the Voting Rights Act, with no amendments, for another 25 years. The federal government will continue to require many states and localities to print ballots in foreign languages (even when there are few requests for them). It will continue to require several jurisdictions, largely chosen on the basis of their behavior in 1964, to get approval from the Justice Department before making any changes to their election laws. It will continue to require that states divvy up voters by race. Racial districting has helped Republicans by hurting white Democrats, and many Republicans supported the legislation on the theory that it will continue to help them. It is a shaky assumption, in light of recent judicial interpretations of the Voting Rights Act and the Constitution. (The Supreme Court just issued one of its keep-'em-guessing decisions on racial districting.) These Republicans have done the wrong thing for the wrong reason.

■ The federal government hasn't approved a new nuclear-power plant since Jimmy Carter was president. With the cost of energy and concerns about greenhouse gases rising, plus memories of Three Mile Island and Chernobyl fading, reactors are getting a second look. Currently, there are 103 of them in the United States; they supply about 20 percent of the nation's power. In the absence of new construction, however, these will eventually go offline, creating a big black hole in America's grid. A long article in the July 16 *New York Times Magazine* painted a grim picture: "Unless someone starts building soon, [nuclear power] will begin to disappear in 15 or 20 years, as one plant after another exhausts its operating permit and goes dark. And it will effectively be extinguished as an energy source by around 2050." Nuclear policy

REMINDER TO SUBSCRIBERS

■ We have become aware that several agencies are soliciting your NATIONAL REVIEW subscription renewal without our authorization. Please note that these organizations have no relationship with NATIONAL REVIEW, nor did we provide them with a mailing list of our subscribers. We are making every effort to stop these solicitations and are working with the proper authorities to protect the trust that readers have placed in us.

Please make sure that you reply only to NATIONAL REVIEW subscription renewal notices with a return address in Mount Morris, Ill., and ignore all requests for renewal that are not directly payable to NATIONAL REVIEW, as these may be fraudulent.

This has become a widespread problem in the publishing industry. Should you have any questions concerning a renewal notice, please contact customer services at (815) 734-1232. We are working to resolve this situation as quickly as possible and your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drugs, Dealers, Danger...Just a Click Away. Are You Watching Your Teens Online? ...*Who Is?*

The Internet unsupervised can be a world of temptation. Pushers peddling pills and make-it-yourself drug recipes. Dealers glorifying marijuana. Bogus "pharmacies" filling orders without prescriptions. "Friends" sending text or instant messages about which parties will have pot or alcohol.

With all the advantages they bring, these technologies, such as Web sites, blogs, spam and text messages, can also expose teens to threats like dangerous drugs and put them in contact with dealers or sexual predators. What can you do? More importantly, what should you do? Parents need to monitor their teens' activities and help them navigate the temptations in the digital world. Here's how:

Learn about the digital devices your teen uses. Visit his Web page or send a text message to her cell phone.

Be clear and consistent about what is off limits — including which Web sites, chat rooms, games or blogs — and how to handle information promoting drugs or sex. Discuss consequences for breaking these rules.

Use technology to help monitor your teen. See for yourself what's posted on social networking sites your teen visits by setting up your own account. Use text messaging to check in with your teen after school.

Know whom your teen is communicating with. Ask who is on his/her cell phone and instant message contact lists. Use every available opportunity to meet and get to know their friends and their parents.

Limit your teen's time spent online, and put computers in a common area of the house so you can more easily monitor their use.

Above all, don't feel uncomfortable with these tactics. You can do it. You're supposed to do it. Because you owe it to them. **For more e-monitoring tips and information on how to use technology to keep your teen drug-free, visit www.TheAntiDrug.com, or call 1-800-788-2800.**

Signed,

American Academy of Pediatrics
Cable in the Classroom
i-SAFE, Inc.
National Institute on Media and the Family
Office of National Drug Control Policy
Partnership for a Drug-Free America
PTA
Web Wise Kids

www.TheAntiDrug.com

PARENTS.
THE ANTI-DRUG

Office of National Drug Control Policy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

is the one area where the United States may want to look to France as a model: 78 percent of its power comes from nukes. Our utility companies know how to build and run safe nuclear reactors. The question is ultimately a political one: Will we let them, before it's too late?

■ Some acts of heroism are defined by the lack of attention they get. For the brave foot soldiers who face the daily grind of protecting Americans from terrorism, the goal is to prevent headlines—to avert the spectacle of havoc that the jihadists seek to create. The rewards of victory in this effort are inconspicuous, coming as they do in the shape of life continuing as normal. So, for example, when it was reported that government agents this spring thwarted a suicide-bomb conspiracy to destroy underwater train tunnels in Manhattan, the news cycle barely flinched. There were no explosions, no deaths, no orphans—no catastrophe for the papers to report. Only successful terrorists attain infamy; the rest are consigned to obscurity. We sleep and wake each day, secure in our routines, largely unaware of the vigilance of those who defend us. To these quiet heroes, we owe much more than our thanks.

■ More than 200 people died in eight evening-rush-hour explosions in the first-class compartments of Bombay commuter trains. The Indian government suspected Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), an Islamic terror group based in Pakistan, and the Students Islamic Movement of India, which is banned. Pakistani intelligence encouraged LeT in the Nineties as a tool in divided Kashmir. Like every other Pakistani romance with Islamism, this one has gone rancid. Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's strongman, repented of his ways after 9/11 and several attempts on his own life, but it will take a long time to undo what had gone on before. Bombay picked itself up and went back to work. New Yorkers salute their everyday moxie.

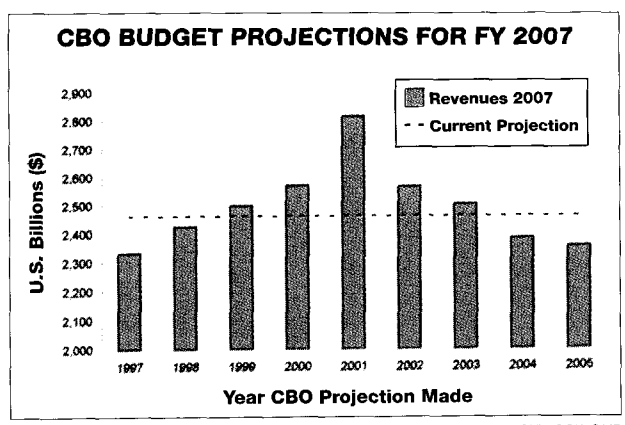
Knowing the Score

IN mid-July, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) provided an updated look at our fiscal situation. It included a new deficit figure of $296 billion, down considerably from the February estimate of $423 billion. The new figure, which reflects large revenue gains, has provided ammunition to Democrats and Republicans alike.

Democrats have criticized the figure, complaining that $296 billion is still a big deficit. Many Republicans, however, have celebrated the reduced deficit figures as a vindication of Bush's tax policies and supply-side economics more generally. What the revenue surge proves, says Judd Gregg, the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, is that "bold pro-growth tax policies enacted by Congress and the president have sparked unprecedented economic growth."

Who is right? In order to tell, one would need to compare the growth that occurred after the tax cuts to the growth that would have occurred in their absence. Such a comparison is naturally quite speculative. One place to start would be to look at the revenue that past forecasters expected to have in 2007 when they did not know about the tax cuts that ultimately arrived.

The nearby graph shows the evolution of forecasts for 2007 revenue, beginning with the first such forecast, made in 1997. The line across the graph indicates the amount of revenue we currently expect the government to receive in 2007, and each bar indicates the forecast for 2007 made in the indicated year. In 1997, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) forecast that revenue would be $2.333 trillion in 2007. The latest OMB projection for 2007 is $2.459 trillion, significantly higher. The difference might suggest that the tax cuts, which were not anticipated in 1997, have more than paid for themselves—if the 1997 forecast is a good estimate of what would have happened absent the tax cuts. On the other hand, revenue in 2007 is now expected to be less than the $2.816 trillion the CBO expected 2007 would deliver when it made this rosy forecast in 2001.



SOURCE: CBO, BUDGET AND ECONOMIC OUTLOOK; OMB
NOTE: CURRENT PROJECTION IS OMB, MID-SESSION REVIEW

Why did the forecasts bounce around so much? There are many reasons, but the most important is that the CBO raised its GDP growth (and revenue) assumptions enormously just as the 2001 recession was beginning. Whoops. That error greatly inflated revenue forecasts and gave the Democrats their soundbites. The CBO's failure to spot the recession makes the 2001 forecast number a bad one to use as a baseline. If we wind back a couple of years, then revenues are currently about what was expected.

In other words, a reasonable forecast from the late 1990s was matched, despite the fact that there was an unexpected recession in 2001. If growth in the early Bush years was less than expected, it had to be better than expected thereafter. Better than expected, that is, in the years affected by the tax cuts.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Choose Life
Grow Young with HGH

From the landmark book Grow Young with HGH comes the most powerful, over-the-counter health supplement in the history of man. Human growth hormone was first discovered in 1920 and has long been thought by the medical community to be necessary only to stimulate the body to full adult size and therefore unnecessary past the age of 20. Recent studies, however, have overturned this notion completely, discovering instead that the natural decline of Human Growth Hormone (HGH), from ages 21 to 61 (the average age at which there is only a trace left in the body) and is the reason why the the body ages and fails to regenerate itself to its 25 year-old biological age.

Like a picked flower cut from the source, we gradually wilt physically and mentally and become vulnerable to a host of degenerative diseases, that we simply weren't susceptible to in our early adult years.

Modern medical science now regards aging as a disease that is treatable and preventable and that "aging", the disease, is actually a compilation of various diseases and pathologies, from everything, like a rise in blood glucose and pressure to diabetes, skin wrinkling and so on. All of these aging symptoms can be stopped and rolled back by maintaining Growth Hormone levels in the blood at the same levels HGH existed in the blood when we were 25 years old. There is a receptorsite in almost every cell in the human body for HGH, so its regenerative and healing effects are very comprehensive.

Growth Hormone first synthesized in 1985 under the Reagan Orphan drug act, to treat dwarfism, was quickly recognized to stop aging in its tracks and reverse it to a remarkable degree. Since then, only the lucky and the rich have had access to it at the cost of $20,000 US per year.

Many in hollywood's glamour sets, who never seem to age like you or I, have a special secret to tell, and even space pioneer and US Senator John Glen stays vital with HGH.

The next big breakthrough was to come in 1997 when the American Anti-aging Society, a group of doctors and scientists, developed an all-natural source product which would cause your own natural HGH to be released again and do all the remarkable things it did for you in your 20's. Now available to every adult for about the price of a coffee and donut a day.

GHR now available n America, just in time for the aging Baby Boomers and everyone else from age 30 to 90 who doesn't want to age but would rather stay young, beautiful and healthy all of the time.

The new HGH releasers are winning converts from the synthetic HGH users as well, since GHR is just as effective, is oral instead of self-injectable and is very affordable.

GHR is a natural releaser, has no known side effects, unlike the synthetic version and has no known drug interactions. Progressive doctors admit that this is the direction medicine is seeking to go, to get the body to heal itself instead of employing drugs. GHR is truly a revolutionary paradigm shift in medicine and, like any modern leapfrog advance, many others will be left in the dust holding their limited, or useless drugs and remedies.

It is now thought that HGH is so comprehensive in its healing and regenerative powers that it is today, where the computer industry was twenty years ago, that it will displace so many prescription and non-prescription drugs and health remedies that it is staggering to think of.

The president of BIE Health Products, the American distributor, stated in a recent interview,"I've been waiting for these products since the 70's. We knew they would come, if only we could stay healthy and live long enough to see them! If you want to stay on top of your game, physically and mentally as you age, this product is a boon, especially for the highly skilled professionals who have made large investments in their education, and experience. Also with the failure of Congress to honor our seniors with pharmaceutical coverage policy, it's more important than ever to take pro-active steps to safeguard your health. Continued use of GHR will make a radical difference in your health, HGH is particularly helpful to the elderly who, given a choice, would rather stay independent in their own home, strong healthy and alert enough to manage their own affairs, exercise and stay involved in their communities. Frank, age 85 walks two miles a day, plays golf, belongs to a dance club for seniors, has a girl friend again and doesn't need Viagra, passed his drivers test and is hardly ever home when we call - GHR delivers.

HGH is known to reverse Hemorrhoids, Multiple Sclerosis, Ankylosing Spondylitis, Macular Degeneration, Cataracts, Colitus, Fibromyalgia, Angina, Chronic Fatigue, Diabetes, Hepatitis C, Rheumatoid Arthritis, High Blood Pressure, Sciatica, helps Kidney Dialysis and heart and stroke recovery.

For more information or to order call **1-877-849-4777**
www.biehealth.us
© copyright 2000

NEW! Doctor Recommended

The Reverse Aging Miracle

RELEASE YOUR OWN GROWTH HORMONE AND ENJOY:

- Improved sleep & emotional stability
- Increased energy & exercise endurance
- Loss of body fat
- Increased bone density
- Improved memory & mental alertness
- Increased sexual potency
- Increased muscle strength & size
- Reverse baldness & color restored
- **Regenerates Immune System**
- Strengthened heart muscle
- Controlled cholesterol
- **Normalizes blood pressure**
- Controlled mood swings
- Wrinkle disappearance
- Reverse many degenerative disease symptoms
- Heightened five senses awareness
- Increased skin thickness & texture

All Natural Formula

This program will make a radical difference in your health, appearance and outlook. In fact we are so confident of the difference GHR can make in your life we offer a 100% refund on unopened containers.

1-877-849-4777

www.biehealth.us

As heard on Radio with Dr. Don Johnson

BIE Health Products
3840 East Robinson Road
Box 139
Amherst, NY 14228

ghr™
A PRODUCT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-AGING SOCIETY

DIV 2037839 ON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

■ For years, Iran has pressed forward with its nuclear program in open defiance of the West. The West has responded in a way seemingly designed to prove its impotence: by doing nothing. Surely Iran didn't expect this pattern to change with its refusal to answer, in a reasonable amount of time, the latest offer of incentives to halt uranium enrichment. It is a victory for the West, then, that Russia and China have agreed to support it in seeking a U.N. Security Council resolution that would require Iran to freeze its nuclear activities on pain of sanctions. But it is only a small victory. There is no guarantee that sanctions would be effective; there is no agreement among the Security Council's permanent members over what form sanctions should take; and there is every reason to think that, should sanctions fail to bring the mullahs to heel, Russia and China—and possibly even Europe—would be unwilling to back more aggressive action. Even as we hope for the success of diplomacy, we should acknowledge that American resolve may be the only thing standing between the mullahs and the nuclear arsenal they covet.

■ The U.N.'s newly created Human Rights Council is getting off to just the kind of disgraceful start that many had predicted. Convening its first session at a time when human-rights violations abound throughout the world—in the Middle East, in Darfur, in China, in Cuba, in North Korea—the HRC has chosen a predictable target: Israel. The council bemoaned the "human rights situation in the occupied Arab Territories, including Palestine," and voted to make criticism of Israel a permanent fixture on its agenda for future sessions. This is but the latest chapter in the sad story of the U.N.—an institution that was born of noble ideals but was corrupted by greed and the presence of tyrants in its midst. A precondition for forming a decent human-rights council is that its members protect human rights within their own borders. But given that the U.N. treats democracies and dictatorships as equals, decency is far from the norm.

THE ARABS PROTEST

Their Highnesses, dictators, and
Assorted emirs reprimand
Excessive mullahs egging on
Hezbollah. Hosni, looking wan,
Joined with the princes in a move
Not seen since Cyrus, in the groove,
Coveted ancient Greece; but it's
Late in the day for throwing fits.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ In Mexico's presidential election, conservative Felipe Calderón beat left-wing populist Andrés Manuel López Obrador by the thinnest of margins. Calderón's victory is much to Mexico's advantage. He plans to pick up the economic reforms that outgoing president Vicente Fox promised and then abandoned, the most important of which are opening Mexico's undercapitalized energy and electricity markets to foreign investment and reforming Mexico's tax and labor laws to create a more favorable business climate. Failure to address these and similar economic problems has kept millions of Mexicans poorer than they should be, and López Obrador—with his distaste for free markets and his hostility toward trade and foreign investment—would only have made things worse. He has said that the election was stolen from him (without providing convincing evidence for this claim) and is challenging the result in court. Wonder where he got that idea.

FELIPE CALDERÓN SUSANA GONZALEZ/AFP

■ Just before the G8 summit in St. Petersburg, Vladimir Putin put on a particularly wooden face to announce the death of Shamil Basayev. The news was a nice and well-timed present for him. Basayev was an ugly customer, the field commander who has kept the rebellion going in Chechnya for ten years and more. He claimed responsibility for murderous attacks on a hospital and a Moscow theater, as well as the school in Beslan, where 331 people, most of them children, were killed. Basayev was blown to bits when a truck carrying dynamite exploded in the convoy he was accompanying. Chechens say this was a spontaneous accident; Russian Security Services claim it as a brilliant special operation, and they have gone in for high-profile killings in the past. "This is just retaliation against the bandits," said Putin. True, quite true. He wanted worse for Basayev. "For him, this is too little—to be just destroyed," he told a broadcaster. But then, as though oblivious to his extended record, he recommended that the Israelis show restraint in Lebanon—he who has helped flatten the attractive Caucasus town of Grozny, where 65,000 people are thought to have died, and 200,000 to have fled. Israelis are well used to double standards.

■ France lost to Italy in the final of the soccer World Cup, in part because its captain and star player Zinedine Zidane, who is of Algerian ancestry, was sent off for head-butting an Italian player following an exchange of words. What words? The London *Times* hired a lip-reader who, after scrutinizing video of the event, claimed that the Italian had called Zidane a "son of a terrorist whore." There was no independent confirmation of this reading, but it was sufficient evidence for columnist Patt Morrison of the *Los Angeles Times* to identify the true villain in the head-butt outrage: George W. Bush. "That's pure trickle-down politics," argued Ms. Morrison, seizing on the word "terrorist," which is, she further argued, "the top playground potty-mouth slur for the 21st century." And: "Who's surprised? The Bush administration has been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF REASONS TO OWN A BOSE® ACOUSTIC WAVE® MUSIC SYSTEM.

- **When it was introduced, *Sound & Vision* said it delivered "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard."**
- It can replace an entire multi-component stereo system – including the speakers. Just think of the space you'll save.
- The Bose® patented waveguide speaker technology inside delivers lifelike music reproduction, producing subtle nuances in your music you may never have heard before. Only Bose has this technology.
- Upon its introduction, its technology received the Invention of the Year award.
- The Acoustic Wave® music system has a built-in CD player and digital FM/AM tuner.
- **You can order it together with the optional 5-CD Changer to enjoy hours of music without interruption.**
- ***Macworld* reported, "Don't let this system's small size fool you – when we say great sound, we mean it."**
- You can easily move it from room to room, or even outside – wherever you want to enjoy music.
- You also can use it with your MP3 player to create a roomful of lifelike sound.
- The challenging sounds of the acoustic bass or low piano notes are delivered with the power and elegance the composer intended.
- Higher-pitched sounds – like the violin and the upper reaches of the human voice – have a convincing presence that owners tell us sound like a live performance.
- **These are the setup instructions:**
  1. Plug it in.
  2. Press ON.
- You can operate your Acoustic Wave® music system using its credit card-sized remote control. (Remote operates the available 5-CD Changer, too.)
- It's made by Bose, the most respected name in sound.
- ***Chicago Tribune* called it "the world's most remarkable compact, one-piece stereo."**
- Available accessories like a portable power case and microphone can make it even more versatile.
- **Our risk-free, 30-day, in-home trial guarantees your satisfaction. If you're not delighted, return it for a full refund.**
- Our engineers considered the most precise details to deliver the best sound possible from the system – even the grille louvers are designed to minimize audio distortion.

- Listen to your favorite vocalist – the true test of any sound system. Your ears may find it hard to believe your eyes.
- The optional 5-CD Changer has extra audio inputs to easily connect your system to other sources. To switch between them, just press one button.

Shown with optional 5-CD Changer. ▶

- Be sure to ask about our payment plan, which lets you use your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.*
- It's available in Platinum White or Graphite Gray to complement almost any décor.

FREE shipping with your order.

To order or learn more: **1-800-314-3416, ext. G7294**
www.awms.bose.com

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299–$1500 paid by major credit card. Additional financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2006 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system design is also a trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and free shipping offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes reprinted with permission: *Sound & Vision*, 3/85; *Macworld*, 7/98; Rich Warren, *Chicago Tribune*, 12/20/91.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scattering the word like ticker tape on a Manhattan parade." We are obliged to this very perspicacious lady for having identified the root cause of M. Zidane's unsporting behavior. But who, does she think, inspired Mike Tyson to bite off Evander Holyfield's ear back in '97? The governor of Texas, no doubt.

■ Across the pond, multiculturalism marches on. Its most recent triumph was the successful open-air cremation, according to immemorial Hindu rite, of the corpse of Rajpal Mehat, a young Indian man, in a farmer's field in rural Northumberland, England. Hindus resident in Britain have for a long time been shipping corpses back to India so that the proper obsequies can be performed. Mr. Mehat, however, had drowned, and his body was so far gone in decomposition, when found, that it was declared unsuitable for air transport. The police authorities of Northumberland did an ungainly little PC dance around the issue, at first giving permission for the cremation to go ahead by way of "respecting the values and beliefs of all faiths," then, after the event, murmuring that "offenses may have been committed," and that the issue needed to be "discussed" with "members of the community." We note with relief that Mr. Mehat was not married.

■ The nauseating, seemingly eternal adoration of Che Guevara continues. José Rivera, who wrote the screenplay for *The Motorcycle Diaries*, has a new play on the murderous thug's last hours. It is a fictional account of a dialogue between Guevara and a teacher who did actually converse with him after his capture in Bolivia. From the reviews, it sounds like a real snoozer—Che talks about raising pigs and growing potatoes, about how he could have been better to his family . . . He mixes in some politics, and even makes allusions to Guantanamo Bay and other contemporary issues (of course). The playwright, in an interview, said that Guevara should be alive at this hour—because, "When you're in a situation where you're killing people and no one really knows why, the times require someone to ask those questions." Right. Guevara, today, would be supporting the beheaders, if not joining them outright.

■ The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation will almost certainly do a better job of spending the $31 billion that Warren Buffett has pledged to it than Buffett would have done on his own. Or, put another way, the Gates Foundation probably can be expected to do far less harm, judging from Buffett's lousy philanthropic record. According to the Capital Research Center, Buffett has lavished money on pro-abortion groups such as Planned Parenthood, NARAL, the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, the Abortion Access Project, and International Projects Assistance Services (a maker of portable abortion devices). The Gates Foundation doesn't have entirely clean hands on this score—it has funded Planned Parenthood as well—but its main interests involve global health and American education. Grants for medical treatments in the developing world, especially sub-Saharan Africa, promise to alleviate much suffering. And although a good portion of its philanthropy on education has been misguided—an obsession with breaking large schools into small ones appears not to have improved student achievement—it has also allied itself with the charter-school movement, which is an engine of reform. Ultimately, the Gates Foundation may go the way of the Ford Foundation and other major philanthropies: captured by the liberals who dominate the boards and staffs of nonprofit groups. But with Bill and Melinda Gates still relatively young, it should be a long time before anybody can twist their intentions out of shape.

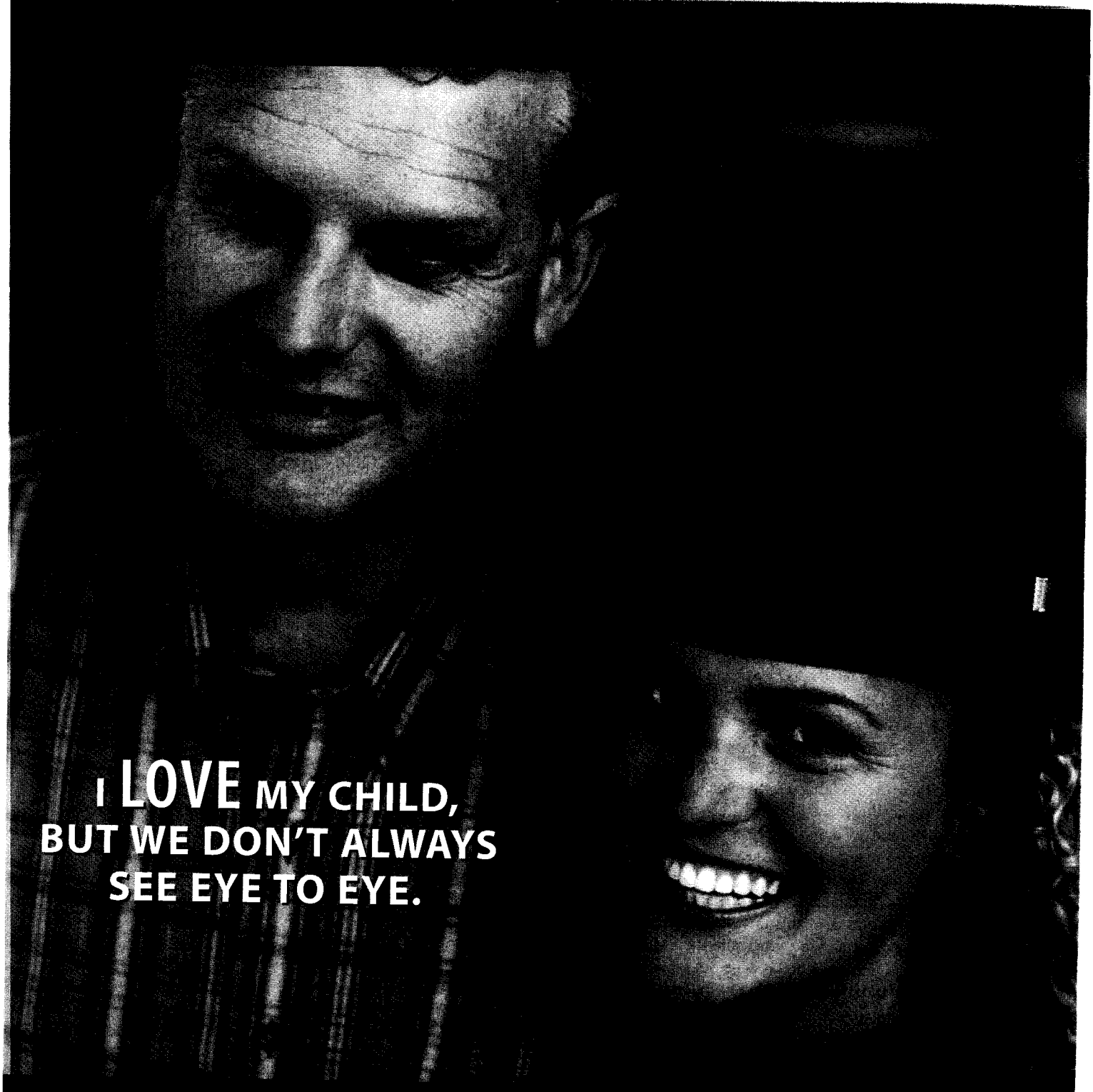
■ Dan Rather announced to a breathless world what his next job will be: anchor of *Dan Rather Reports* on HDNet, the dish/cable network of Dallas Mavericks owner Mark Cuban. Interviewed on *Larry King Live*, Rather gave us a preview of his new persona: a paranoid and somewhat delusional has-been who is still in denial about the story that cost him his career. When asked about this story, which used fake memos to criticize President Bush's record in the Air National Guard, Rather said he "absolutely" believes "the truth of the story" and repeated his contention that the fake memos were but one small part of what CBS reported. In fact, the memos were central to the story's allegations. That Rather continues to claim otherwise—and refuses to admit that the documents were fraudulent—makes us wonder why anyone is willing to hand him the keys to another journalistic enterprise.

■ The sphere of civil rights ever expands. The most recently unearthed civil right is the right of public-school students to carry cellphones. It has been a longstanding policy in the New York City school system to prohibit students from bringing beepers and similar devices into schools. The recent installation of more-sensitive metal detectors at school entrances has, however, resulted in the detection and confiscation of large numbers of cellphones. Parents have protested, on the not-unreasonable grounds that cellphones enhance the safety of their children when they travel to and from school. A lawsuit has been fired up, and the lead attorney for the plaintiffs has asserted that the city's cellphone ban is an unconstitutional infringement on civil rights. School authorities regard the gadgets as disruptive of classroom discipline, and are standing by their ban. The simple solution would seem to be for students to surrender their phones, suitably identified, for safekeeping during school hours. In our litigious culture of endless "rights," that is of course *too* simple.

■ Warren Bell, frequent contributor to NRO and, by his own estimate, "thoroughly conservative," has been nominated to the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Public broadcasters are alarmed. Bell, said NPR spokesman Andi Sporkin, brings "no discernible relevant achievement" to the job. Come again? Bell is executive producer of ABC's

NANCY KASZERMAN/ZUMA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



I LOVE MY CHILD, BUT WE DON'T ALWAYS SEE EYE TO EYE.

That's why I'm using DonorsTrust to carry out my charitable intent.

They're providing me with a convenient and effective alternative to establishing a private foundation—and one that avoids the pitfalls of the Fords and Rockefellers by ensuring that my beliefs will be honored by my family in the future.

DonorsTrust exists to promote individual and economic liberty and to serve donors who share that purpose. If that reflects *your* purpose, you won't find a better partner.

Smart giving. Convenient giving. Principled giving.

For more details, visit our Web site or call us for a free informational brochure.

Donors

BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

703.535.3563 | www.donorstrust.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

According to Jim, with a 17-year track record of writing and producing behind that (*Life's Work*, *Ellen*, *Coach*). This may be the perfect résumé: experience in telecommunication, yet with a pair of fresh eyes. The CPB board has had members from all walks of life, and many opinions, including committed conservatives. (NR senior editor Richard Brookhiser was a CPB board member in the 1980s.) Public broadcasters are making a shabby first impression.

■ How hard-boiled was Mickey Spillane? Try eating concrete for breakfast. *I, the Jury*, title of his first Mike Hammer book, said it all: Who needs a gutless jury? Spillane filled his books with Communist villains—as if there's any other kind of Communist. One hundred and thirty million readers agreed. Maybe people aren't so stupid. Dead at 88. R.I.P.

AT WAR

The Israeli Front

NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT was ancient Roman wisdom, meaning, "Nobody harms me with impunity," or, in the present context, Don't try to terrorize the Israelis. Over 700 Hezbollah rockets have taken lives and destroyed property widely within Israel, but there are no refugees, no panicky crowds at the airport, no cries to be rescued by the great powers. The Israeli Left, accustomed to damn every government, has rallied behind Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. The national unity is as impressive as the determination.

The difficulty for Israel is that, while Hezbollah is the overt enemy, the real authors of this crisis are Iran and its opportunistic sidekick Syria. Arab states and their terrorist groups have discovered that attempts to wipe out Israel do irremediable damage to themselves. Iran's Shiite leaders believe that their messianic Islamic revolution can achieve the victory that eluded the secular or Sunni Arabs. Hezbollah is their frontline weapon for the purpose, supposedly a vanguard of Shiite supremacy but in reality just a group of mercenaries that Tehran arms, finances, and disavows all in the same breath.

Iran's growing imperialism is a threat to Arabs and Israelis alike, which is why Saudi Arabia, in a rather original statement, objects to what it calls Hezbollah's "uncalculated adventures." In the not so distant future, the world is going to have to take a position about Iranian imperialism as the country goes nuclear. The Israeli clipping of Hezbollah claws is meanwhile evoking cries of rage in Tehran, where they are unaccustomed to having their deceptions exposed.

Hezbollah has been hiding among the Lebanese—a trick borrowed from Yasser Arafat. That trick ended badly for Arafat and the PLO, when the Israelis routed them from the country in 1982. Broken by years of civil war and a tyrannical and corrupt Syrian occupation, Lebanon has not been able to muster the will or the strength to disarm Hezbollah, allowing it to become a state within the state, in effect surrendering to Iranian imperialism. Security Council Resolution 1559 mandates the dissolution of the Hezbollah militia, but Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, the Hezbollah leader, is as unimpressed as Tehran by anything coming out of the U.N. Thanks to his militia, he is rich, controlling charities; he has tame representation in parliament; and he is the leading power in the country.

The majority of Lebanese, including Shiite elements, especially intellectuals, deplore Hezbollah and recognize that Israel is getting particularly vicious terrorists off their back, in effect doing for them what they could not do for themselves. Even more than the Israelis, the Lebanese people are victims of Hezbollah. For Prime Minister Fouad Siniora and all who had hopes for renewed national independence, it is a catastrophe, a real tragedy, that Hezbollah has hijacked the Cedar Revolution.

In a close parallel, the United States and its allies did for Iraq what Iraqis could not do for themselves, and got Saddam Hussein off their back and into a courtroom. What an irony it is that Hussein set the precedent for firing long-range missiles into Israel, and yet he fought Iran for the better part of a decade.

In the past, Israel has killed Hamas leaders, and in the present operations it has detained a number of others. Like Hezbollah, Hamas is paid and sponsored by Tehran, but its followers are Palestinian and Sunni, and it is conceivable that Israel will agree to a cease-fire and the exchange of the Hamas leaders it holds for Cpl. Gilad Shalit, kidnapped by Hamas.

Whatever happens, and however long it may take, Hezbollah has to be pushed back far enough to leave its arsenal of missiles unthreatening to Israel.

No such deal is possible with Hezbollah, in part because it is an existential threat in a way that Hamas is not, and in part because Tehran would never accept it, even as it twisted any humanitarian negotiating position that Israel might adopt into evidence of weakness and surrender. Israel has killed previous Hezbollah leaders, and arrested others, and now it is destroying Hezbollah's infrastructure, its headquarters, Al-Manar television station, and much else. If commandoes or aircraft close in on Nasrallah, the likelihood is that he will do a bin Laden and go to ground in Syria or Iran. Whatever happens, and however long it may take, Hezbollah has to be pushed back far enough to leave its arsenal of missiles unthreatening to Israel. Such an eventuality could only encourage the Lebanese at last to settle accounts with these gunmen in their midst.

The G8 summit is one of the rather meaningless jamborees that world leaders unaccountably relish, but it happened to coincide with this crisis. President Bush took the opportunity to spell out that Israel has the right to defend itself. He got it across that the "root cause" of the crisis was not the existence of Israel but the attacks by Hamas and Hezbollah. The best way to stop the violence, he said, was for Hezbollah to lay down its arms and stop attacking, and he called on Syria to use

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Makes Us American?

Explore the traits that define our national character through the lives of 48 remarkable Americans

Thomas Jefferson, Al Capone, and Betty Friedan may not seem to have much in common, but the President, the Crime Boss, and the Feminist are just a sample of the notable Americans with distinctively American traits that you will meet in these 48 fascinating lectures on **The American Identity.**

Emory University historian Patrick N. Allitt gives you a panoramic tour of our national character by profiling a variety of Americans—rich and poor, male and female, immigrant and native, religious and secular—whose lives speak eloquently about the qualities that make one truly American.

You will meet Benjamin Franklin, Abigail Adams, Frederick Douglass, Louisa May Alcott, Brigham Young, Helen Keller, Henry Ford, and dozens of others including soldiers, politicians, inventors, explorers, artists, intellectuals, humanitarians, and religious leaders.

There are many examples of how these individuals embody distinctly American traits. For example:

Energetic Approaches to Problem-solving: Benjamin Franklin was inspired by a firewood shortage in Philadelphia to invent a more efficient source of heat: the Franklin stove. His clever marketing campaign for the invention displays another American characteristic: boundless self-confidence.

Devotion to Religious Liberty: The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, which Thomas Jefferson drafted in 1786, was one of his proudest accomplishments, which he classed even above his two terms as president of the United States. The statute was the foundation for the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before September 18, 2006, to receive these savings.

© Corel Stock Photo Library.

Benjamin Franklin

About Your Professor

Dr. Patrick N. Allitt is Professor of History at Emory University. An English native, he received his B.A. from Oxford University and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. He won the Emory Center for Teaching and Curriculum's Excellence in Teaching Award.

AudioFile magazine marveled that Professor Allitt's "skill at weaving fascinating details about his subjects into the narrative makes us forget we're being lectured to. ... Let this teacher demonstrate the joy of learning to you."

Lecture Titles

Being American ... John Smith—The Colonial Promoter ... William Penn—The Religious Liberty Advocate ... Cotton Mather—The Puritan ... Benjamin Franklin—The Improver ... Francis Marion—The Guerrilla Soldier ... Thomas Jefferson—The Patriot ... Abigail Adams—The First Lady ... Mother Ann Lee—The Religious Founder ... Rittenhouse and Bartram—The Scientists ... Eli Whitney—The Inventor ... Lewis and Clark—The Explorers ... Charles Grandison Finney—The Revivalist ... Horace Mann—The Educator ... Ralph Waldo Emerson—The Philosopher ... Frederick Douglass—The Abolitionist ... Edmund Ruffin—The Champion of Slavery ... Brigham Young—The Religious Autocrat ... Frederick Law Olmsted—The Landscape Architect ... William Tecumseh Sherman—The General ... Louisa May Alcott—The Professional Writer ... Andrew Carnegie—Conscience-Stricken Entrepreneur ... "Buffalo Bill"—The Westerner ... Black Elk—The Holy Man ... John Wesley Powell—The Desert Theorist ... William Mulholland—The Water Engineer ... Samuel Gompers—The Trade Unionist ... Booker T. Washington—The "Race Leader" ... Emma Goldman—The Anarchist ... Abraham Cahan—The Immigrants' Advocate ... Isabella Stewart Gardner—The Collector ... Oliver Wendell Holmes—The Jurist ... Henry Ford—The Mass Producer ... Harry Houdini—The Sensationalist ... Al Capone—The Crime Boss ... Herbert Hoover—The Humanitarian ... Helen Keller—The Inspiration ... Duke Ellington—The Jazzman ... Charles Lindbergh—The Aviator ... Douglas MacArthur—The World-Power Warrior ... Leonard Bernstein—The Musical Polymath ... Shirley Temple—The Child Prodigy ... George Wallace—The Demagogue ... William F. Buckley, Jr.—The Conservative ... Roberto Clemente—The Athlete ... Betty Friedan—The Feminist ... Jesse Jackson—The Civil Rights Legatee ... Stability and Change?

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE UP TO $390!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL SEPTEMBER 18, 2006

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/6natr

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 21024

Please send me **The American Identity,** which consists of 48 half-hour lectures with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $129.95** (std. $519.95) **SAVE $390!** plus $20 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $89.95** (std. $359.95) **SAVE $270!** plus $15 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $64.95** (std. $249.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:
☐ VISA ☐ ☐ ☐

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP. DATE _____
SIGNATURE _____
NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____
MAILING ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/6natr
Offer Good Through: September 18, 2006

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its influence to that end. This is leadership. This is authority. Support came only from the British and Canadian prime ministers.

Vladimir Putin, the host in St. Petersburg, was unrelentingly snide, as usual now. Spain's prime minister, Zapatero, drew on the experience of the Madrid bombings to say that Israel was "making a mistake." Romano Prodi, newly elected Italian prime minister, spoke out of both sides of his mouth. Jacques Chirac cannot control the Arab and Muslim mobs on French streets, but played the usual Arab card by accusing Israel of a disproportionate reaction. Grabbing quite the wrong end of the stick, he also accused Israel of "a sort of desire to destroy Lebanon."

Should this Middle East crisis drag on, the Free World will split, and much of it will turn even more against the United States and Israel, for the reason that these countries still stand up for themselves. Business as usual, in this sense.

THE LAW

The Court Goes to War

ADMINISTRATION critics are understandably crowing over the Pentagon's announcement that enemy combatants at Guantanamo Bay will be accorded Geneva Convention protections. The announcement represents a back-down from one of the central contentions in the administration's legal theory in waging the War on Terror: that Geneva does not, and was never meant to, apply to terrorists acting in blatant violation of the rules of war. The administration's hand was forced by the Supreme Court's execrable *Hamdan* decision, which imperiously and implausibly said that al-Qaeda detainees get Common Article 3 protection under Geneva.

The Court had no business deciding the Hamdan case at all. In last December's Detainee Treatment Act (DTA), Congress rescinded the unprecedented jurisdiction that the Supreme Court, in the 2004 *Rasul* case, had claimed over alien enemy combatants captured in wartime and held outside the U.S. This Court, however, acknowledges no limits on its powers—whether imposed by Congress or by the English language, which it had to torture in order to construe the DTA's unambiguous limitation of its jurisdiction as an invitation to meddle.

And meddle it did, claiming for itself the mantle of final authority over both international relations and military necessity—matters in which it wholly lacks institutional competence and that the Framers committed primarily to the chief executive.

The Court found that the military commissions for al-Qaeda detainees are unauthorized under federal law and unjustified under international law. Never mind that they guaranteed our enemies the right to counsel, to the presumption of innocence, to proof beyond a reasonable doubt before conviction, to the privilege against self-incrimination, and to more.

Properly understood, the Geneva Conventions were irrelevant to Hamdan's case. He is a terrorist who fails to meet the conventions' definition of a lawful combatant. In order to get around this inconvenient fact, the Court had to invoke (and distort) Common Article 3 of the conventions, which applies only to civil wars taking place within the territory of a single country, as opposed to international conflicts. The Court argued, absurdly, that because al-Qaeda is not a nation, it cannot be in an international conflict: So the global War on Terror is not "international," despite having been fought in the United States, Somalia, Yemen, Kenya, Tanzania, Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere.

The most important question now is how to go forward from here. The Supreme Court left the door open to another version of military commissions, declining to say what acceptable trials would look like or what rights exactly terrorists must be accorded. So the administration and Congress can still craft commissions with rules that protect national-security information in the course of trials and keep U.S. soldiers from having to follow the evidentiary standards of America's civil-court system while waging war. A debate over such rules could even be useful, forcing liberals to say exactly what rights they think terrorists deserve.

The administration should propose legislation that strikes a reasonable balance between humanitarian and national-security imperatives. It should close the door, as much as possible, to judicial second-guessing of that balance. And it should make crystal clear that the Geneva Conventions do not apply, in any of their aspects, to unlawful combatants, and do not govern their treatment. *Hamdan* is part of an unfortunate tendency to exalt international law as the font of all legal and policy wisdom, not to be disturbed by the decisions of the elected representatives of the American people. That is an especially pernicious trend to reinforce in the middle of a long and difficult war against a ruthless and elusive enemy.

NORTH KOREA

Failure to Launch

WHEN it became clear that the Taepodong-2 missile North Korea test-launched early on July 4 had broken up less than a minute into flight and plunged into the Sea of Japan, many Americans felt a sense of relief. After all, the missile—belonging to a class thought capable of reaching the U.S. mainland—had failed, and Kim Jong Il had been embarrassed before the eyes of the world. But an embarrassed menace is a menace nonetheless. Despite the test's outcome, Kim's regime is a greater threat now than it has ever been.

Responding successfully to that threat will require, first, a recognition that Kim almost surely cannot be negotiated out of his nuclear program. President Bush has been right to pursue multilateral talks with Pyongyang rather than acquiesce in the bilateral negotiations Kim desires: Direct talks would be a concession to North Korean pressure and strengthen Kim's position. But the six-party talks—involving, in addition to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

North Korea and the U.S., Japan, South Korea, Russia, and China—have never brought Kim an inch closer to forswearing his nuclear aims, and in any case have been suspended since September. Resuming them now isn't likely to do much good. Kim knows that North Korea's economy, as well as his power, depends on the combination of selling arms to rogue states and extorting aid from alarmed neighbors. He will not defang himself, for this would imperil his survival.

The recently passed U.N. resolution banning member states from selling components of missiles and nuclear weapons to North Korea was better than no response at all. But not much better. Russia and China successfully blocked any threat of economic sanctions or other punitive measures. In this, they were supported by South Korea, which plays the role of U.S. ally on Mondays, Wednesdays, and alternate Fridays. The U.S. should do everything it can to extract a high diplomatic price from these countries if they continue their reckless appeasement.

But the reality is that we are probably stuck with Kim for a while to come. U.S. policy should accordingly be to contain Kim's regime and undermine its power. Perhaps the greatest danger is that North Korea will transfer its missile technology to other regimes that would use it to threaten us. Kim continues to arm Iran, and he has also courted Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez. There is a very real possibility that, at Kim's initiative, the regimes most hostile to the U.S. will form an axis backed by North Korean missile technology.

Preventing that outcome will require more serious enforcement of the Proliferation Security Initiative, a U.S.-led effort to interdict transfers of banned weapon technology. In practice, the PSI has done almost nothing to stop North Korean arms shipments, possibly because PSI nations fear damaging the six-party talks. It's time to cast such reservations aside. We should also step up pressure on the recipients of North Korean arms—most notably Iran's mullahs, who must be stopped from building an atomic bomb. We should intensify our already successful efforts to cut off North Korea's overseas financial assets. We should work diplomatically toward the complete isolation of Kim's state. Finally, we should press forward on missile defense—by continuing development of land- and sea-based interceptors, and by jumpstarting research on space-based technology.

As long as Kim's Stalinist regime clings to power, it will endanger us. But if the United States and its allies have the will to confront that danger, it can be overcome—and the regime can be pushed toward the fate of its ideological forbear.

PUBLIC POLICY

For Ethical Stem-Cell Research

A MAJORITY of senators has voted to get the federal government, for the first time, in the business of killing human embryos for research purposes. By the time you read this, President Bush will have vetoed the bill, and won enough votes in Congress to sustain his veto. We wish that the president had not waited so long to cast his first veto, but for his maiden effort he has picked a bill that richly deserved one.

In 2001, Bush announced that the government would fund research on existing stem-cell lines. He did not, however, want federal funds to encourage anyone to kill human embryos to derive more stem-cell lines. He thus refused to fund research on stem-cell lines derived after the funding was announced. The Senate voted to lift this restriction. The bill would permit funding on stem-cell lines derived from "left-over" human embryos at fertility clinics.

Even if the bill were ever to become law—which it will not as long as this president is in office—it would not accomplish much. Science might progress a little faster. But it is pretty clear that research using cloned human embryos and fetuses has more to offer than research using the embryos at fertility clinics. That type of research cloning is still unpopular. The political point of the current bill is thus to pave the way for it.

We wish that the president had not waited so long to cast his first veto, but for his maiden effort he has picked a bill that richly deserved one.

There are also other, ethical scientific alternatives that hold more promise. A second bill would fund research that seeks to develop ways of producing the equivalent of embryonic stem cells without killing human embryos. Such research would be in addition to ongoing, federally funded research on stem cells taken from adults' tissues and from umbilical-cord blood. It would also come on top of private-sector research that is proceeding in all of these directions. A third bill would impose the first limits on such research by outlawing fetal farming.

Some politicians who object to subsidizing the killing of embryos are worried about the political consequences of voting against the bill. They shouldn't be. It is true that most polls show public support for embryonic-stem-cell research. But that support drops substantially when it is clear that the research would be taxpayer-funded and would kill human embryos. In 2005, CBS found that the public approved of "medical research using embryonic stem cells" by a 58–31 percent margin. But when CBS asked whether the federal government should limit funding to existing stem-cell lines or increase the number, enough of the supporters defected to the conservative side to produce a 48–37 percent plurality for the president's policy.

The poll results depend greatly on the wording of the question, which suggests that the public does not have firm views on this matter. Democrats tried to make an election issue out of stem cells in 2004, without obvious success. Nobody has ever lost a race by opposing embryo-killing stem-cell research (or, unfortunately, by supporting it). Senators should have felt free to vote on the merits. Those merits counseled a vote for imposing some ethical limits on stem-cell research, for funding ethical research, and against funding the embryo-killing kind—and counseled a veto when a congressional majority ignored those principles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EAST ASIA

The Sham of 'Sunshine'

South Korea's policy toward the North does no good

JASON LEE STEORTS

If you want to know what's wrong with Seoul's policy toward its psychotic neighbor to the north, a trip to the website of South Korean president Roh Moo Hyun will do. There you'll find his government's official response to North Korea's recent test firing of seven ballistic missiles. Roh really got his choler up: The tests were "an unwise act," and South Korea had "profound regrets" over them.

Happily for Kim Jong Il, Japan stepped in to deflect the wrath of Roh. It did this by calling for sanctions against the Dear Leader's regime. Roh's spokesman in Seoul responded, "There is no reason to fuss over this from the break of dawn like Japan." Why couldn't Japan just emulate South Korea, which, in its wisdom, had reacted to the tests "without raising a voice"? It was becoming obvious who the real villain was—and a handful of Japanese government ministers removed all doubt when they said that preemptive action might be justified if North Korea ever looked like it was preparing an actual attack. This of course "exposed Japan's tendency to invade" other countries, but fear not: South Korea would "continue to respond decisively to [Japan's] arrogance and recklessness."

Strange times, these. Kim Jong Il brags he can toast his enemies in a mushroom cloud and punctuates the threat by lobbing missiles hither and yon, while South Korea carries on as if Hideki Tojo were still running Japan. Precisely what gives?

The answer is the sunshine policy. Formulated by former South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, it has guided the South's relations with the North for the last eight years. The name of the policy comes from an Aesop fable in which the wind and the sun compete to remove a man's coat. The wind blows and blows, only forcing him to clutch the coat around himself more tightly. But when the sun shines down, he freely takes it off.

This makes for a rather cute bedtime story, but it hasn't worked out so well as a foreign policy. The hope of sunshine was that the South, by engaging North Korea diplomatically and economically, could soften Pyongyang's attitudes and promote eventual reconciliation and reunification. But Kim hasn't exactly returned the love.

"If sunshine were about instigating capitalism and freedom [in North Korea], we could support it," says a former senior official in the Bush administration. "The problem is that it has become a sop to the North Korean system, not an attempt to bring about its transformation." A current senior administration official is more diplomatic: "The United States is not opposed to inter-Korean cooperation. . . . But what we're especially supportive of is those forms of cooperation that promote measurable reforms in the North." As far as "eliciting a change in behavior" goes, the official says, "I don't think it's been very successful."

No, it hasn't. In the past eight years, Kim has only grown more bellicose. He has dashed forward with his nuclear program. He has built new missiles and tested them despite promises not to. And he has become the world's chief arms supplier to rogue regimes, including that of Iran's mullahs. Any illusion that Seoul's goodwill had won it an iota of influence over the North was shattered with the latest batch of missile tests, which South Korea practically begged Kim not to conduct.

Perhaps the only tangible benefit South Korea has gotten from the sunshine policy is cheap labor in the North Korean city of Kaesong, where South Korean companies have been allowed to build manufacturing plants. These few ventures have hardly shaken the foundations of North Korea's Stalinist economy. "If they wanted to spread capitalism," says the former administration official, "they'd open a

KOREA NEWS SERVICE/REUTERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SWISS BREAK THROUGH GUARANTEES...

YOU'LL NEVER SUFFER FROM FOOT PAIN AGAIN!

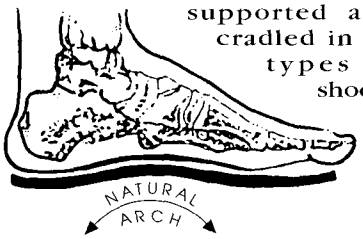
END SORE, ACHING FEET — INSTANTLY!

Which of these foot ailments cause you pain?

- ☐ Corns
- ☐ Calluses
- ☐ Bunions
- ☐ Flat Feet
- ☐ Burning Nerve Endings
- ☐ Cramping
- ☐ Painful Ankles
- ☐ Hammertoes
- ☐ Pain in the Balls of Your Feet

If you suffer from one or more of these problems, then you owe it to yourself to try the remarkable "FOOT CRADLES". Foot Cradles are an amazing discovery from Switzerland. They are guaranteed to end foot pain instantly, or your money back. Does it sound too good to be true? *Please read on.*

A Foot Specialist in Switzerland knew that, to end foot pain, the foot needed to be properly supported and cradled in all types of shoes.

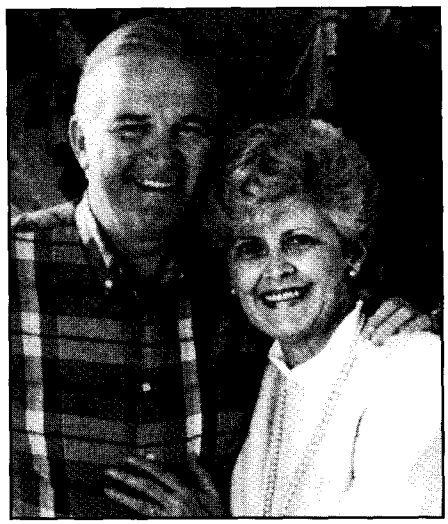


Since nothing he tried before ever gave long-lasting relief from pain, he set out to solve the problem himself.

His efforts produced the remarkably effective "FOOT CRADLE" insole support.

Already, millions of men and women have found blessed relief from their foot pain with "FOOT CRADLES".

"I can hardly believe something so simple could work so well. Now, I believe in 'FOOT CRADLES'! Thank you for ending my foot pain."
B.J. Boise, ID



"I use 'FOOT CRADLES' in all my shoes. They're that good ... and comfortable. I get instant relief just like you promised." **J.M. St. Louis, MO**

So simple, it's ingenious! The secret of "FOOT CRADLES" lies in its unique, contoured design. It works together with your foot in any pair of shoes you wear. "FOOT CRADLES" are made in Europe from genuine leather. Though they weigh less than one ounce, "FOOT CRADLES" help support your full body weight. Just as your weight shifts naturally as you walk, so do the "FOOT CRADLES". They apply the natural laws of foot motion to relieve your burning, aching feet.

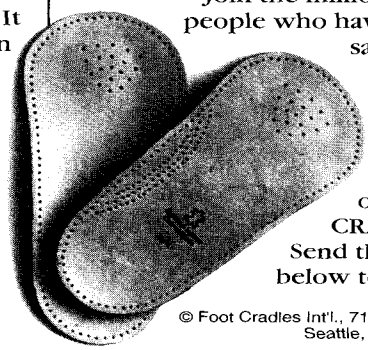
"FOOT CRADLES" slip easily into any pair of shoes you own — high heels, work shoes, boots, sport shoes, sneakers and sandals. They're so comfortable, you won't realize you're wearing them.

"I took you up on your Guaranteed RISK-FREE Offer, and 'FOOT CRADLES' have been relieving my foot pain ever since." **E.C. Memphis, TN**

And once you start walking or running, you'll feel the difference immediately. Suddenly you no longer wince with each step. Your foot pain completely disappears.

100% GUARANTEED!

Now see how "FOOT CRADLES" will work for you. Test them in your shoes for 30 days ... without risk! You must walk in total comfort — without pain — or return your "FOOT CRADLES" for a full refund of your purchase price. No questions asked.



Join the millions of people who have already said good-bye to their foot pain because of "FOOT CRADLES". Send the coupon below today!

© Foot Cradles Int'l., 712 N. 34th Street, Seattle, WA 98103-8881

Visit our website at www.luxis.com

30-DAY RISK FREE OFFER

FOOT CRADLES INTERNATIONAL, Dept. YNR086
712 N. 34th Street, Seattle, WA 98103-8881

Yes! Send me "FOOT CRADLES" on the RISK FREE 30-DAY GUARANTEE.

IMPORTANT: *Please indicate shoe size(s) below:*

Women's size(s) _____ Men's size(s) _____

❑ 1 pair for $16.95 plus $3.00 Postage & Handling. WA residents add 8.8% sales tax.

❑ **SAVE $10.00 — 2 pair for only $29.90 plus FREE Postage & Handling.**

$ _____ payment enclosed. Charge my ❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard.

Card# _____ Exp. Date _____

Print Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wal-Mart up there and show the North Korean military on the other side of the border the failure of their system, not invest billions in slave labor making cutlery for export." Kent Calder, director of the Korea Initiative at Johns Hopkins's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) agrees that "the motivation on the South Korean side is mainly the cheap labor."

Apart from Kaesong, the sunshine policy has amounted to nothing but empty gestures: occasional reunions of separated families and meetings between officials of the North and the South. The most famous such meeting was the 2000 "peace summit" between Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae Jung, an event that North Korea agreed to only after the South forked over $186 million in cash on top of the hundreds of millions in fertilizer and food aid it was already giving. (But hey, the South Korean president got a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, so at least both Kims came out ahead.) In return, the North has repeatedly embarrassed the South: by storming out of high-level meetings, by canceling at the last minute the opening of a rail link between the two countries, by pulling back from the very limited economic reforms it launched in 2002, by killing four South Korean sailors in a dispute over fishing rights, and by generally being a menace.

Which is really just to say that Kim Jong Il remains himself. Economic engagement can work, but only when the engaged party is open to reform. That Kim isn't should surprise no one. Fashionable though it is to dismiss him as a "madman" or a "lunatic," Kim in fact shows a remarkably clear grasp of his interests. He knows that his regime could never survive a liberalization of the North Korean system. His power depends entirely on the possession of a nuclear deterrent, the raising of cash through arms sales and other black-market activities, and the smashing of internal opposition. He will never allow reforms to shake the pillars atop which he is so precariously balanced, but if Seoul wants to give him something for nothing, why not take it? Somebody in this arrangement is acting the lunatic, but you won't find him north of the demilitarized zone.

Americans wouldn't need to worry about this if it were a simple question of fairness. But when the South's willingness to be suckered helps prop up a charter member of the Axis of Evil and a major threat to U.S. interests, we ought to be unhappy. And that is, in effect, what the sunshine policy does.

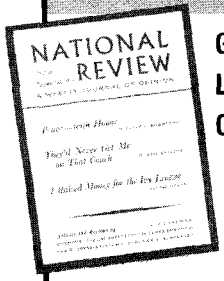
It props Kim up through material aid, of course, but far more beneficial to him is the wedge it has driven between Seoul, on one side, and Washington and Tokyo on the other. "The sunshine policy has been deeply corrosive of the U.S.-ROK [South Korea] alliance," says the Korea scholar Nicholas Eberstadt. "The sunshiners, in chasing their dream of reconciliation with a totalitarian government bent upon destroying them and absorbing their society unconditionally, have taken to blaming us rather than the Kim Jong Il regime when any bump in the road to their fantasy dream castle comes along."

Perhaps the most charitable way of putting things is that the U.S. and South Korea have a major strategic disagreement. Both wish to reduce Kim's threat, but they have very different ideas about how to do it. Seoul's approach becomes less defensible with each North Korean provocation, yet it stubbornly clings to the notion that Kim can be bought off and trusted to keep his end of the bargain. The Bush administration knows better, and would prefer to contain Kim and undermine his power. But almost every time it tries to escalate pressure on him, the South is there to block the way—as witness, most recently, its opposition to imposing economic sanctions on North Korea through the U.N. Security Council. (Seoul's position on sanctions is not appreciably different from Beijing's.) South Korea has repeatedly sided with the threat from which we protect it rather than with us. If this be gratitude, we could do with less of it.

The one reason for optimism is that South Korean opinion on how to deal with the North is far from monolithic. In fact, it is fairly evenly divided between supporters and opponents of the sunshine policy, and the recent missile tests may lead many South Korean voters to conclude that the policy has failed. "I think there will be a backlash against the sunshine policy in the next elections, in December 2007, due to the way the North seems to be using it as a pretext for going forward with impunity on its nuclear and missile programs," says SAIS's Calder. Even Roh's government, though refusing to endorse economic sanctions, has canceled its aid shipments to the North in the wake of the missile tests. This is a welcome step away from Roh's statement earlier this year that the South's provision of aid was "without conditions."

The U.S. should use whatever diplomatic leverage it can to push South Korea a step farther. What we should like it to realize is that it chose the wrong Aesop fable to describe its foreign policy. For its appeasement of the North resembles nothing so much as the tale of a frog carrying a scorpion on its back across a river, only to be stung in mid-course. "It's my nature," explains the scorpion to the dying frog. South Korea has spent too long pretending that Kim Jong Il's nature is other than what it is. Until this changes, both the South Koreans and we will be less safe. **NR**

Celebrate NR's 50th
With this Handsome, Exact Keepsake Replica of Our 1955 Premier Issue



GET THE ISSUE THAT LAUNCHED MODERN CONSERVATISM!

Volume 1, Number 1 of *NR*—it's a joy to read, and now this historic edition can be a joy to own. Join us in celebrating your favorite conservative magazine's Golden Anniversary by getting your personal keepsake copy of this handsome 32-page reproduction (*exact* to the original in every detail!) of *National Review*'s 1955 premier issue. It's a great gift idea, and costs only $12.99 per copy (we'll ship your order FREE via first-class mail!).

THE VERY ISSUE WHERE NR VOWED TO 'STAND ATHWART HISTORY, YELLING STOP!' JUST $12.99! FREE SHIPPING

ORDER AT STORE.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ SOUTH ASIA

A New Ally

The nuclear deal cements our relationship with India

RAMESH PONNURU

JOE WILSON, a Republican congressman from South Carolina, is a former co-chairman of the House India Caucus and a strong supporter of President Bush's nuclear deal with India. But he says that he was "really very pessimistic about this when it first came at the International Relations Committee." He had good reason to be.

Mr. Ponnuru is an NR senior editor and the author of *Party of Death: The Democrats, the Media, the Courts, and the Disregard for Human Life.*

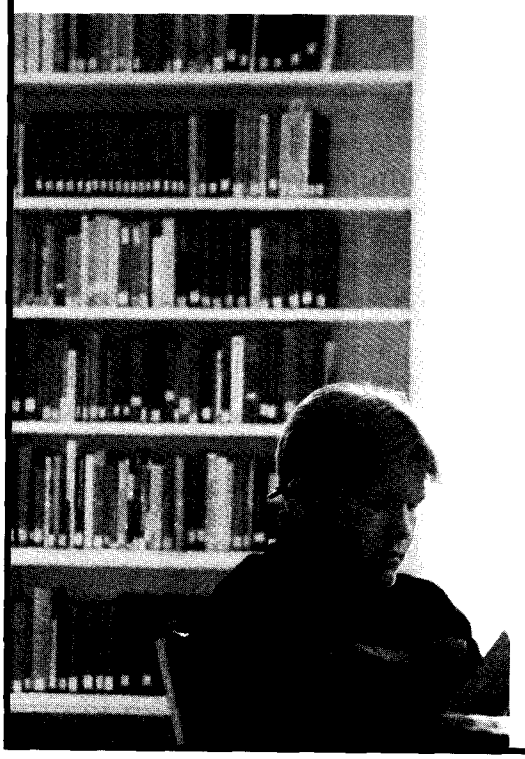
The deal opens India's civilian nuclear facilities to inspection and formally binds India to continue its previously voluntary practice of not transferring nuclear technology to other countries. India would also drop some trade restrictions on American exports. In return, the U.S. would lift its ban on selling nuclear technology to India. It's that last part of the deal that requires congressional approval.

Bush and Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh announced the deal on March 2. News stories about the deal's prospects in Congress included phrases such as "tough sell," "bruising fight," and "political headache." Influential Democrats came out against the deal, or voiced skepticism. Jimmy Carter, speaking for the party's dovish wing, called the deal "just one more step in opening a Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation." Ed Markey, a smart and hard-working liberal Democrat from Massachusetts, vowed to lead the opposition in the House. Former representative Lee Hamilton and former senator Sam Nunn, considered foreign-policy heavyweights by moderate and conservative Democrats, wanted Congress to modify the deal substantially if not reject it outright.

The *New York Times* editorialized against a "very bad nuclear deal." *Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman wrote in opposition. Hans Blix, the former U.N. weapons inspector, said that the deal "risks fueling an arms race in Asia." Richard Lugar and Henry Hyde, respectively the chairmen of the Senate and House foreign-policy committees, were said to be lukewarm about the deal. They agreed to help enable it only as a favor to the administration. Even John Bolton, Bush's own ambassador to the U.N. and formerly his point man on nuclear proliferation at the State Department, was widely rumored to think the administration should have driven a harder bargain with India.

Tom Lantos, the ranking Democrat on the House committee and a longtime

THE
Thomas More College
of Liberal Arts
MERRIMACK, NEW HAMPSHIRE • ROME, ITALY



"Thomas More may be the closest thing now existing to the tiny 'colleges' which grew up at Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages and nourished such thinkers as Thomas Aquinas and Ignatius Loyola."
- *Choosing the Right College, 2006*

"[Thomas More] students belong to one of the most intense academic communities in the country."
- *Donald Asher, Cool Colleges*

• Comprehensive study of the West, from Ancient to Modern
• Sophomore semester of study in Rome, Italy
• Majors in philosophy, political science, literature, and biology
• Continual interaction with faculty

A few spaces are available for fall 2006; transfer students welcome

Contact: Joanne Geiger, Director of Admissions
800-880-8308 | www.thomasmorecollege.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friend of India, generally supported the deal. But in mid-May, even he was sounding defeatist. He said that action should be delayed, because there wasn't enough time to build support in Congress this year.

Yet in late June, the House committee voted 37–5 in favor of the deal and the Senate committee voted 16–2 for it. If the congressional schedule permits, a bill should reach President Bush's desk in the next few weeks. And the deal's supporters have suffered no bruises.

What happened? In part, the deal's success reflects the fact that it had influential supporters as well as opponents. William Cohen, the former Republican senator and Clinton defense secretary, supports it. So does Mohamed ElBaradei, Blix's successor. In part, the success is a testament to the growing influence of Indian-American organizations and their allies. The U.S.-India Political Action Committee and the United States–India Business Council have both lobbied for the deal. So have companies with interests in India, such as Boeing, GE, and J. P. Morgan.

But more important than either of those factors was the fact that there is now a bipartisan consensus in America in favor of an alliance with India. That consensus, a decade in the making, is proving strong enough to overcome the objections of the old arms-control establishment.

The Cold War pushed the U.S. and India apart. Republicans, especially, resented the way India postured as the leader of a "non-aligned movement" while tacitly allying with the Soviet Union. India had both ideological and strategic reasons for acting as it did. Its ruling class was left-wing. It also shared the Soviets' interest in containing China. The U.S., on the other hand, was allied with China against the Soviets from the early 1970s on. The same sort of logic caused China and the U.S. to ally with Pakistan against India.

But India has been moving in a free-market direction for two decades, in fits and starts. The Soviet collapse, as well as China's rise, has changed U.S. interests. Now we see India as a power that can balance China in the region. India also shares our interest in fighting Islamist terrorism. As the promotion of democracy has moved toward the center of American foreign policy, India's democratic credentials have grown more attractive to American policymakers. After Bush took office, the first foreign minister with whom he met was India's. Tom Donnelly of the American Enterprise Institute argues that Bush's foreign policy is heading toward the creation of a "Big Four" global partnership between the U.S., Britain, Japan, and India.

The criticisms of the deal, meanwhile, are pretty weak. When the deal was announced, the leading complaint was that it undermined our efforts against nuclear proliferation in Iran and North Korea. By giving India but not those two countries a pass for its nuclear program, we were applying a "double standard." But as foreign-affairs writer Robert Kagan pointed out, double standards are inevitable in any non-proliferation regime. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty attempts to apply a double standard that allows the existing nuclear powers of 1968 to keep building weapons while stopping other countries from doing the same thing. Better to have a double standard that distinguishes between regimes that pose a threat to international order and those that don't.

Bush and Singh in New Delhi

JIM YOUNG/REUTERS

Besides, it was impossible to maintain that Iran and North Korea would slow down their nuclear programs if only the U.S. refrained from accepting India's. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty may be useful in generating international pressure against aspiring nuclear powers. But it can't stop a determined state from getting nukes. The countries that are inclined to abide by it are, by definition, not big threats in the first place. (Iran and North Korea have violated the treaty, while India never signed.) These considerations diminish the force of the second criticism of the India deal: that it weakens the non-proliferation regime. Some of the critics seem to have succumbed to treaty worship.

Other critics complained that we had not forced inspections of India's military reactors, imposed limits on its production of nuclear material, or demanded that India take a tougher line with Iran. Perhaps the deal could have done some of these things. But India was going to continue its nuclear program whether or not we offered our approval. And forging an alliance with India may be a prerequisite for its adjustment of its policies on Iran and other hot spots. In any case, these are arguments for second-guessing our negotiating strategy, not for rejecting the deal it produced.

The biggest problem for the deal's opponents, however, is that their objections look picayune in comparison with the strategic opportunity of an alliance with India. The opponents have been reduced to arguing that we can have friendship with India without approving this deal. But the alliance has to take account of what India wants, not what the American arms-control lobby thinks it ought to want. Having themselves accepted the strategic premise of the deal, the critics have no way to defeat it.

The two dissenters on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were Russ Feingold and Barbara Boxer, both liberal Democrats. But other Democrats, including most liberals, have come around. Some of them hung back at first. Perhaps they were waiting to see how the politics would play out: Would voting against the deal help score anti-Bush points? But starting a partisan fight over this issue would hardly help Democrats make the case against Bush the Alliance-Wrecker.

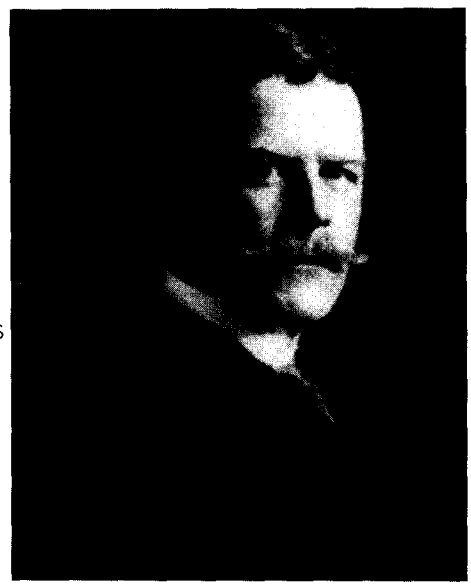
Whatever their calculations, John Kerry and Joe Biden eventually came on board. After the committee votes, Hillary Clinton, the co-chairman of the Senate's pro-India caucus, announced her support as well. Even Republican congressman Dan Burton, a longtime India skeptic, is supporting the deal. We have a new bipartisan consensus, and it is going to outlast the Bush presidency. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Man Who Gave Us the Drug War

Dr. Hamilton Wright was famous for his discovery that beriberi is an infectious disease. It isn't. It's a vitamin deficiency but by the time his error was uncovered he had already married well. Very well in fact – to the daughter of Senator W.D. Washburn, head of the Republican Party.

When Dr. Wright moved to Washington his new father-in-law got him a job as a delegate to the Chinese Opium Commission of 1909. This conference, aimed at helping the Chinese with their opium problem, was billed as an American good will gesture. The actual intent was to pull the rug out from under the British and open China's vast markets to US merchants.



But Dr. Wright, who always suspected he was destined for greatness, took the assignment seriously and by the time he returned from China he had persuaded himself that opium addiction was a global scourge. His mission would be to save the world from the evil of narcotics.

He faced daunting odds. The other key players—England, France, the Netherlands did not share Wright's horror of opium. A British study had recently concluded that opium addiction was no worse than alcoholism and maybe not as bad. But Wright's moral certainty finally carried the day on Capitol Hill. Badgering superiors and threatening foreign ambassadors, Wright managed to get the State Department to convene two follow-on conferences at Hague in spite of resistance from almost every other nation involved.

In the end they all caved in and agreed to control cultivation, manufacture, and distribution of narcotics. Wright was able to achieve this stunning reversal through simple deception. At The Hague he said that the United States was demanding narcotics control, then back in Washington he squeezed Congress with fabricated demands from The Hague.

The U.S. legislation that Wright engineered finally made it through Congress in the winter of 1914 and at first glance the Harrison Narcotics Act appeared to be just a means of gathering information. It called on everybody in the drug trade to purchase a license and keep precise records. The bill passed in minutes. The New York Times didn't even mention it.

But Hamilton Wright had installed a land mine in the language, an extra clause that enabled federal agents to decree that all narcotics addicts should go cold turkey. Most addicts at the time were productive citizens with jobs, homes and a medical problem. Overnight they went from patients to criminals.

Today, as a direct result of using lawmen to supervise doctors we have 30 million Americans undertreated for chronic pain. And what did we get in return? After spending $1 trillion over the last 90 years the rate of narcotics addiction in the US has increased 500 percent.

Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
www.ManagingChronicPain.org www.MedicalMJ.org
www.TreatingDrugAddiction.org
info@csdp.org

Text excerpted from Drug Crazy, Mike Gray, Random House 1998

Photo credit: from the book Drug War: Covert Money, Power & Policy by Dan Russell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CULTURE WATCH

How Now, Cowboy?

The uses and abuses of a national icon

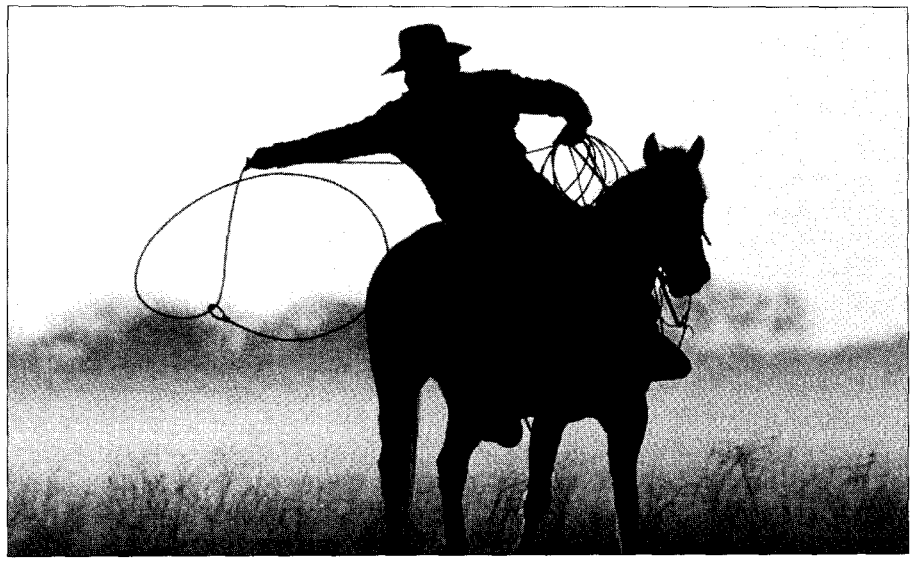
VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

"THE end of cowboy diplomacy," *Time* magazine recently announced of George W. Bush's supposed turn to softer talk and more multilateral policy-making. The Beltway consensus is that the beleaguered president has finally learned that he cannot posture as the lone ranger on the frontier. Instead he has concluded that, in a sophisticated world where all nations are interdependent, there is no place for his "smoke 'em out," "dead or alive" Weltanschauung—or even for those post-9/11 photo-ops in which he drove his pickup around the ranch to chainsaw brush while wearing a Stetson and shades.

So we are likely to hear no more "Get out of Dodge" threats, as when the president gave Saddam and his sons 48 hours to clear out of Iraq. And he probably won't return to a meeting of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association for an encore performance of his February 2002 Wyatt Earp–like warning: "Either you're with us or you're against us." Perhaps he no longer resembles the youthful and cocky John Wayne who, playing the Ringo Kid in *Stagecoach*, cleaned out the villainous Plummer clan. Has Iraq instead made him like the older, more circumspect John Wayne playing his last role as the dying J. B. Books of *The Shootist*, a man who accepts that both he and his Wild West world don't belong in the new century?

Europeans, we are told, sigh in relief at the end of all this black-and-white, good-versus-evil frontier justice. Their preferred American leader is a metrosexual John Kerry or Al Gore who wears tasteful earth tones, dribbles effusive praise of the U.N., and speaks at Davos of coalition building, Kyoto, and consultation with the EU. Indeed, Gore dismissed Bush's showdown with Saddam as a "do-it-alone, cowboy-type reaction to foreign affairs." And then he tried to turn Bush's cowboyism on its head: "There's ample basis for taking off after Saddam, but before you ride out after Jesse James, you ought to put the posse together."

Many Americans, however, remember from their Old West lore that while the posse bickers and dithers the outlaw gets away—just as Saddam spent twelve years violating U.N. resolutions, flouting weapons inspections, and breaking his 1991 Gulf War surrender promises. At least some of the president's former appeal, then, was precisely his resemblance to a 19th-century cowboy.



DAVID STOECKLEIN/CORBIS

John Wayne, deep in the saddle, still has a far stronger emotional pull on Americans than contemporary yuppieism—as we learned in 2004 when the public tired of seeing John Kerry wearing spandex while windsurfing or biking. Unlike those in Europe or the blue coastal states, most Americans have a positive image of the cowboy. They see him neither as a psychopathic killer like Billy the Kid nor even as resembling the murderous anti-heroes of director Sam Peckinpah's *Wild Bunch*—over-the-hill outlaws who go down in a blaze of glory and take almost everyone in their midst with them.

Instead, the cowboy more often evokes Gary Cooper as Marshal Will Kane of *High Noon*. When given the chance to ride out of Hadleyville for a much-deserved retirement with his new wife, Kane instead turns back to face the Miller gang alone. Although the prospects of survival are slim, he won't run or abandon his town, even though it would rather appease the killers. This is no bad thing for the community, just as there are those who benefit from cowboy Bush's willingness to confront bullies like Saddam Hussein, the Taliban, Kim Jong Il, or Mahmoud Ahmadinejad—even if the Europeans, like the townspeople of Hadleyville, delude themselves into thinking that the Millers of our world will leave them alone if their stubborn self-appointed protector just rides away. The recent unprovoked attacks on Israel by Hamas and Hezbollah, and the bellicosity of their patrons Iran and Syria, should disabuse everyone of such naïveté.

George Bush also understands that, beyond rugged individualism, tough language, and resolute action, there is another strain in the American myth of the selfless cowboy: that of the tragic hero. Although Will Kane shoots the outlaws and saves Hadleyville, he ultimately throws down his star and rides out as originally planned. The relieved townspeople don't want the marshal to stay on after the carnage.

An even better reminder of the willingness of the American cowboy to depart after he cleans up the town is George Stevens's 1953 classic, *Shane*. When a

Mr. Hanson is professor emeritus of classics at CSU-Fresno, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and the author most recently of *A War Like No Other*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

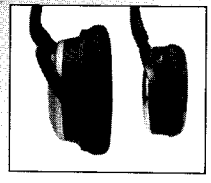
From the company that first introduced noise reducing headphones.

The next step.

NEW Bose® QuietComfort® 3 Acoustic Noise Cancelling® Headphones

Now you have a choice. We began researching noise reduction technology 28 years ago. Since then, we've been leading the industry in advancing the category we created.

New QuietComfort® 3 headphones represent the latest achievement. They rest on your ears rather than surrounding them. And while they are smaller than our highly acclaimed QuietComfort 2 headphones, there is no compromise in noise reduction, sound quality or comfortable fit. So now you have a choice: QC™2 headphones for around-ear use, and new QC3 headphones if you prefer a smaller, on-ear alternative.



QC2 headphones (left). New QC3 headphones (right).

The challenge of reducing size. Studies show that many people prefer on-ear headphones. But with conventional technology, smaller earcups compromise performance. So we launched a research project to explore something we were not sure was even possible – overcoming the performance limitations of smaller size and on-ear design.

The result is our new QC3 headphones. For the first time, you have the option of on-ear headphones that match the noise reduction and audio quality benefits of our award-winning QC2 headphones.

FOR TRAVEL WORK HOME

Hear the difference Bose technology makes. You will notice a dramatic decrease in engine roar on a plane. The cabin becomes more peaceful. Connect your CD player, MP3 player, or listen to the in-flight movie. You'll hear detail you may have never experienced while flying.

But use them at home or at the office, too. Although the noise reduction will be more subtle, you should notice distractions fading softly into the background. No headphones will eliminate all noise, but patented Bose® noise reduction and audio technologies, working together, can make any listening experience more enjoyable.

Try them for 30 days at no risk. Choose new QC3 headphones for an on-ear fit, or QC2 headphones for an around-ear design. Both come with our 30-day Excitement Guarantee. Take advantage of **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* And ask about our optional Cell Connect cable for use with select music-enabled mobile phones. QuietComfort headphones. Engineered exclusively by Bose, the most respected name in sound.

FREE shipping with your order.

Fold-flat design for easy storage.

To order or learn more about Bose headphones:

1-800-901-0256, ext. Q4898

QC3.bose.com

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Additional financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2006 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. Financing and free shipping offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mysterious former gunslinger rides into a picturesque mountain valley, he finds the forces of civilization in the form of "sodbusters" preyed on by a ruthless cattle magnate who doesn't want his survival-of-the-fittest world tamed by fences and do-good homesteaders. Unfortunately, the farmers' vision of a lawful and ordered society makes them almost helpless against range marauders when there is no judge, sheriff, or jury to protect them. When the beleaguered homesteaders discuss the lawlessness of the range hands, they sound about as impotent as the U.N. Security Council. Enter Shane with his mysterious checkered past. He reluctantly shoots the cattle baron and his hired guns, and then trots off wounded into the sunset—resigned that the very methods he employs to save civilization taint him and make him unable to live within it once the threat is past.

That theme of Greek tragedy—Sophocles' dramas *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* center on the flawed hero whom we both shun and need—is a Western constant. In *The Magnificent Seven*, hired guns—outcasts—ride in to save a Mexican village from bandits. Then, after the bloodletting, the surviving Yul Brynner and Steve McQueen depart, knowing they are not to enjoy the tranquility and order that they have alone been able to provide through their gunplay.

Director John Ford also captured that tragic sense brilliantly in *The Searchers*. Only a near-psychopathic John Wayne as Ethan Edwards can track down the renegade Comanche band of Chief Scar, who has captured his niece. This is precisely because Edwards is himself not altogether civilized. And in Ford's *Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, Wayne played stoic Tom Doniphon, who is willing to bushwhack the no-good Liberty Valance—if it means saving the bumbling lawyer Ransom Stoddard, whose books are the proper civilized future of the imperiled town of Shinbone. Both Edwards and Doniphon accept the paradox that there is no future for the brutal defender of society once he has vanquished the savagery that threatened it.

Perhaps George Bush understands the irony of the good cowboy. If so, he has accepted both that someone had to deal with Saddam Hussein after international scolds and U.N. sanctions failed to corral him, and that the self-appointed enforcer would eventually find himself alone and stigmatized as uncouth by the very ones who so often called for Saddam's ouster. Just as there is more to the cowboy myth than "shoot 'em up" justice and throw-away lines about lynching bad guys, so too there may be more to Bush's evocation of the frontier than his strut and his twangy braggadocio. He surely knows that his willingness to go it alone—whether by introducing the term "Axis of Evil," renouncing the ABM treaty, or promising to take down rogue regimes—is both necessary for the security of a civilized West and something that ensures he will not be appreciated until he is riding off into the sunset. Only then will we quit condemning the methods that brought us security.

The truth is that we live in a global Hadleyville suffering from the delusion that international communications, cellphones, and the Internet—like the railroad and telegraph before them—equate to civilization. In fact, they are only a thin and flashy veneer atop a wild and savage world where outlaw regimes like North Korea, Saddam's Iraq, and Iran push until pushed back. The United Nations can keep the peace and dispense justice about as well as the territorial marshal who is a three-day ride away or the bought sheriff of a cattle baron's town. And a Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Mullah Omar, or Saddam Hussein listens to international warnings about as much as Liberty Valance pays heed to the bumbling coward of a sheriff Link Appleyard.

That is why so many people privately appreciate an American Tom Doniphon, Shane, or Will Kane who from time to time appears out of nowhere to stand up to a Saddam, Taliban, or Kim Jong Il—or to the recent crop of bullies in Lebanon, Syria, and Iran. The thugs may think that an exasperated, lame-duck George Bush, suffering from international rebuke and low approval ratings, has dropped his flashy cowboy manners. But they should still beware: If the now-brooding Bush really is a cowboy, he may deal with a few rogues yet, caring not at all for our present approval, but only for his own code of honor and the safety we will enjoy once he's gone. Even the dying J. B. Books took out the bad guys before he and his world were finally over. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH II**

Watch Ann Go *Whoosh!*

Analyzing La Coulter

FLORENCE KING

I MAY disagree with what Ann Coulter says but I will defend to the death Oscar Wilde's right to say it. Describing the same kind of widow that set Coulter off, he quipped: "Her hair turned quite gold from grief."

Wondering what life in America would be like if Coulter used a stiletto instead of a sledgehammer is a tempting but futile excursion into dreamland. Suppose, for example, she was confronted, like Jennie Churchill, with a pompous young man who boasted that his financée's virtue was "priced above rubies." Without missing a beat, Jennie said, "Try diamonds." But if the young man said the same thing to Coulter?

"The godless liberals are trying to link Pat Robertson to Charles Taylor's diamond-smuggling cartel in Liberia while they cry crocodile tears over the poor starving Africans they're helping to starve by conniving with radical ANC goons trained by Winnie Mandela who controls every mine in South Africa, all because they hate Robertson's Christian beliefs so much they'll be cheering and dancing in the streets if Taylor and the God-hating Marxists succeed in smearing him!"

If Coulter lacks Jennie Churchill's sophisticated wit, neither does she show any trace of Dorothy Parker's lethal impishness. Parker's assessment of her dependent husband—"Alan will always land on somebody's feet"—would probably leave her cold. Not because she didn't get it, but because it is so perfectly epigrammatic that there is no way to "mischaracterize" it, to use Coulter's favorite fighting word; it can be quoted in context,

Florence King's NATIONAL REVIEW columns are collected in *STET, Damnit!: The Misanthrope's Corner, 1991 to 2002.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jerusalem (I)

Whose city — whose "holy city" — is it?

It is thirty-nine years since Israel's victory in the Six-Day War in 1967, that the city of Jerusalem, which had been divided for nineteen years, has been reunited under Israeli rule. But there is still much talk, and many people insist, that solution of the "Middle East Problem" will not be possible until Israeli Jews relinquish their "occupation" and restore the holy city — or, at the very minimum, its eastern part — to its "rightful owners", the Moslem Arabs.

What are the facts?

A city of many nationalities. Before the end of the 1967 Six-Day War, during which the Israeli Defense Forces re-conquered Jerusalem from the Jordanians, claims to Jerusalem being a Moslem holy city were rarely, if ever, asserted. Jerusalem had always been a city in which many religions and nationalities lived side by side. It was only after the old city was back in Jewish hands that the Moslem Arabs declared their willingness to wage "jihad" (holy war) to bring the city back into Arab possession.

> "Jerusalem has been the center of Jewish life, of Jewish yearning, and of Jewish thinking for over 3000 years. That is the reason that the State of Israel has rededicated the Jewish holy city to be its capital."

The notion to call Jerusalem an Islamic holy city has only come about in modern times, especially after the Arabs lost the city to Israel in the Six-Day War. It now has gained currency by dint of constant repetition. The basis for the claim is that Jerusalem does indeed contain an Islamic holy site, namely the Temple Mount (sacred to both Moslems and Jews) with its two mosques, El Aksa and the Dome of the Rock. It is the place from which Mohammed is believed to have ascended to heaven. Mohammed never set foot in Jerusalem. But aware that it was the holy city of Christians and Jews, and wishing to convert them to his new religion, he commanded his followers to build a mosque in Jerusalem. But never in Moslem history did this mosque compare in significance to the Moslem holy cities of Mecca and Medina — cities that no "infidel" may visit.

A tenuous Moslem claim. It's on the basis of this religious tradition that the Moslems designated the entire Jewish Temple Mount to be their holy site. The Israeli Government, in its constant spirit of accommodation to Moslem sensibilities, has largely acceded to this tradition and has put the area in and around the two mosques entirely under Moslem control. But how would Christians feel if, instead of from the Temple Mount, Moslem tradition had Mohammed ascend from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and if the Moslem Arabs were to claim that site as their property? The Christian world, often ready to consent to Moslem claims against Jews and Israelis, would be greatly astonished and would certainly resist such claim. But Moslem Arab assertiveness doesn't end there. On the tenuous claim of their right to the Temple Mount, they have construed a claim to the entire city of Jerusalem (or at the very least to its eastern part), which they have declared to be their "third holiest city". And it would be an insult to all Moslems and all Arabs to leave the city in the hands of the "infidel Jews".

Jerusalem: Never an Arab capital. But the city of Jerusalem — in contrast to Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus — has never played any major role in the political and religious lives of the Moslem Arabs. It was never a political center, never a national or even a provincial or sub-provincial capital of any country since biblical times. It was the site of one Moslem holy place, but otherwise a backwater to the Arabs. The passion for Jerusalem was not discovered by the Moslem Arabs until most recent history.

A center of Jewish life. Jerusalem has stood at the center of the Jewish people's national life since King David made it the capital of his kingdom in 1003 BCE. It remained the capital until the kingdom was conquered by the Babylonians 400 years later. After the return from Babylonian exile, Jerusalem again served as the capital of the Jewish people for the next five and a half centuries.

Jews are not the usurpers in Jerusalem. They have been living there since the Biblical era and have been the majority population since the 19th century. Jews have synagogues and other holy sites in most cities of the world. But do they claim sovereignty over those cities because of it? Of course not! It would be preposterous and people wouldn't accept it. And the Moslem Arab claim to Jerusalem, based on the mosques on the Temple Mount, is just as untenable. Jerusalem has been the center of Jewish life, of Jewish yearning, and of Jewish thinking for over 3000 years. That is the reason that the State of Israel has rededicated the Jewish holy city to be its indivisible capital.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out of context, or out of the blue without losing a thing.

Wit keeps sexual repartee from being offensive; the sharper the wit, the cleaner the joke. Challenged to use the word *horticulture* in a sentence, Parker immediately shot back, "You can lead a horticulture but you can't make her think." Her opinion of the current crop of debutantes: "If they were laid end to end I wouldn't be a bit surprised." The English adventuress who broke her leg in the middle of her divorce trial: "She probably did it sliding down a barrister."

By contrast, Coulter's sexual remarks are at once grim and flippant. Commenting on a psychologist's plan to teach children about gay sex in a loving way, she said: "How can you teach children about anal sex in a loving way? Or any sodomy, for that matter?"

I am not saying that everyone has to be witty and original and overflowing with dazzling bons mots—after all, Coulter is a lawyer and I wouldn't want to see her let down the side. I am just curious to know why she was content to call Katie Couric "the affable Eva Braun of morning TV." Couldn't she come up with something better? How about Simper Fidelis?

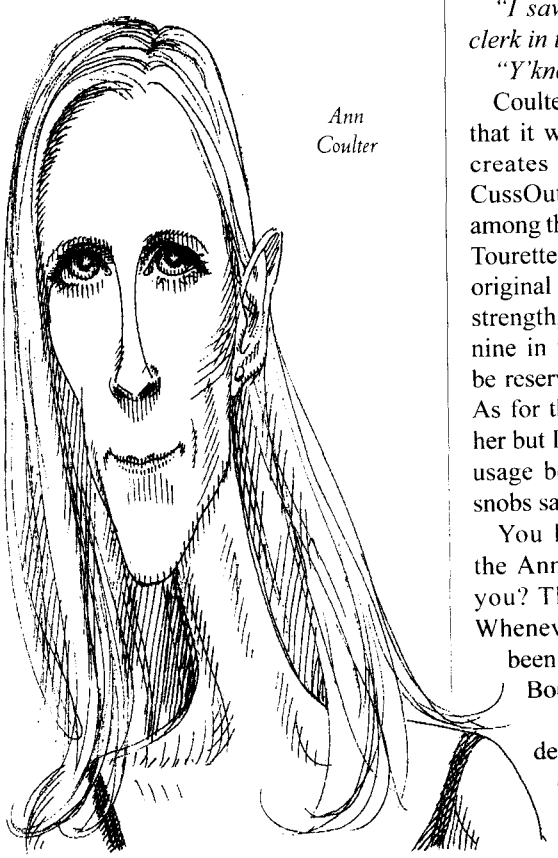
And why a Nazi comparison in view of her own strenuous objections to the way liberals "characterize" right-wingers—herself in particular—as Nazis? Why would she call the liberal Couric a Nazi? Did she mean to imply that Couric is anti-Semitic, or anti-Israel in the far-Left fashion? And since Eva Braun has no identity without Hitler, who was *his* stand-in on the morning show supposed to be?

Maybe what she was striving for was not a Nazi but a German, one of those take-charge Teutonic battle queens like Brunhilde who ran the show, so to speak, to imply that Katie Couric ran the morning show and hence the whole country from her powerful liberal throne while cloaked in phony affability. This certainly works better than the powerless, pathetic Eva Braun.

But Coulter knows her audience too well for that. While she herself is familiar with Brunhilde, chances are the average American is not, so she probably decided to use Eva Braun whether it made sense or not because everybody knows who she was from seeing all those war movies. And even if they don't, she needed the name of some bad person, and "Eva Braun" sounds like a big, mean Nazi dyke, so—hey—it's good enough.

At her best, Coulter writes well, but the chief source of her success is that she is a perfect match for the American ideal: smart as a whip but dumb as a post, educated but not learned, sexy but not sensuous, all at the same time. She would not hesitate to choose a sledgehammer over a stiletto because her instincts would pull her back from what the 18th century called "demolishing your enemies without raising your voice." She would know that if a writer uses a stiletto, a lot of people might not get the point, but they would definitely get the loftiness that accompanies irony and understatement. And so, knowing that being called an elitist spells ruin, she opted for a sledgehammer and raised the roof instead.

Her timing was perfect, putting her before the television cameras just in time to take advantage of the whoosh. That's the sound cable news uses to signal each new 15-second segment in a roundup. They report the latest border debacle, then they go *whoosh!* and start talking about midwestern floods. When they finish the floods there's another *whoosh!* and the subject changes to the stock market. Gone are the days when a break was signaled by a soft rattle of the host's fake papers and a murmured "We'll be back in a moment." Now, if a revered philosopher came on a show, the host would say, "Hold your thought, Plato," and cut to whoosh.



Ann Coulter

ROMAN GENN

CNN has the loudest *whoosh*, a harsh wheezing sound so labored that at first I thought it was me. After all, I made my NR debut 16 years ago with a cover story called "I'd Rather Smoke Than Kiss." But no. The whoosh is television's way of telling us that we are being swept up and borne aloft on gusty torrents of swirling excitement. To train us to gasp, they walk us through it by gasping for us.

The whoosh needs a blowhard and it has gotten Ann Coulter, a one-woman Hyde Park Corner who, love her or hate her, is saving television from itself by never uttering Guestisms—those gummy little nothings that guests keep saying over and over without thinking until everybody thinks they have said something thoughtful. Four of the most frequently heard Guestisms are:

"That's a good question."

"You can indict a ham sandwich."

"I saw the gentleman kick the store clerk in the head."

"Y'know, Greta . . ."

Coulter has been called so many names that it won't be long before somebody creates a site listing them all under CussOutCoulter.com, but my favorite among the printable ones is "Twiggy with Tourette's." I vetoed *virago* because its original meaning—"a woman of stature, strength, and courage who is not feminine in the conventional way"—should be reserved for the likes of Joan of Arc. As for the devolved meaning, it may fit her but I have a mental block against this usage because it's the way intellectual snobs say "bitch."

You know who the real winner in the Ann Coulter controversy is, don't you? The Geico insurance company. Whenever their ad comes on after I've been watching Coulter do her howling Boudicca number, their little gecko lizard seems so plangent and defenseless that I want to hold him close and protect him. I feel completely mischaracterized and it's all her fault. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY

The Mayor Who Would Be President

Or would he? A look at Rudy's career, character, and prospects

KATE O'BEIRNE

RUDY GIULIANI became "America's Mayor" when he confidently took charge after the terrorist attacks of September 11. He rose to the challenge with grace and grit, and his pitch-perfect reactions captured something far more universal than his own anger, determination, and heartache. The tough-talking former mayor now enjoys a unique status among national politicians. *Newsweek*'s Eleanor Clift had plenty of company when she contemplated Hurricane Katrina's devastation and asked, "Where is Rudy Giuliani when we need him?" In the political-leadership sweepstakes, Giuliani is A-number-one, top of the list, king of the hill. But Sinatra's catchy claim is turned on its head in the presidential sweepstakes: When it comes to winning over GOP primary voters, if you can make it in New York, you can't make it anywhere else.

It's true that presidential-preference polls have typically found Giuliani on top, beginning with a survey taken on Election Day 2004, when the ballot ink was barely dry. According to that poll, conducted by McLaughlin and Associates, Giuliani was the first choice of 34 percent of Republican voters, with John McCain at 15 percent and other candidates trailing in the low single digits. A year later, an NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll of likely GOP primary voters gave Giuliani a 34–31 percent lead over McCain, and a Gallup survey earlier this year found him with a similar advantage (33–28). Polls taken this June confirm that Giuliani and McCain presently dominate the GOP field: Gallup found Giuliani on top with 29 percent to McCain's 24 percent, while a Cook Political Report/RT Strategies poll reversed the lead, with McCain at 29 and Giuliani at 24. Polls also show that Giuliani would be a formidable opponent for Hillary Clinton, the current Democratic frontrunner. A Fox News poll in May found that voters would choose the former mayor over the current senator by a margin of 49–40 percent, the strongest showing against Hillary of any potential Republican candidate.

Giuliani's allure isn't confined to poll ratings. He has proven to be a terrific fundraiser, and his dance card this election season is filled with Republican suitors eager to campaign at his side. His "Solutions America" political action committee raised $2 million at a recent dinner in New York. In a single week in July, he drew big crowds as he stumped for grateful candidates in Ohio, Arkansas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. When Giuliani headlined a May fundraiser in Georgia, lieutenant-governor candidate Ralph Reed declared, "Rudy Giuliani is one of the finest leaders in not only the Republican party, but in either party."

Such accolades, along with the early polls, provide the evidence for Rudy's Republican boosters to argue that, although he is out of step with the GOP base on a host of issues, his demonstrated leadership and political celebrity can calm misgivings about his social liberalism and operatic personal life.

In his recent book *Can She Be Stopped? Hillary Clinton Will Be the Next President of the United States Unless . . .*, John Podhoretz outlines a ten-point plan to prevent that scary prospect. Point number ten is "Nominate Rudy." Podhoretz counsels that Republicans "not hold ideological purity more dear than partisan victory in the coming two years." And he believes that victory-minded Republicans are heeding his advice. In a recent column in the *New York Post*, he noted that Giuliani and McCain both hold views at odds with their party's base yet head every poll of GOP primary voters. He concluded, "Such people tend to be more involved in and better informed about politics than the average American, so it stands to reason that they have some knowledge of McCain's and Giuliani's positions. And so far it isn't bothering them. Why? One word: leadership."

While allowing that Giuliani would "have to shift his ground and move toward social conservatives if he is to prevail," Podhoretz's bullish views on the former mayor echo those of other conservatives—who live or work in New York. Giuliani governed their ungovernable city and dramatically reduced crime, while holding views on law and order and welfare dependency that put him on the right of the city's political spectrum. He cheered the city's conservatives by racking up all the right enemies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THREE STRIKES

In contrast, analysts west of the Hudson see little chance that Giuliani will get the nomination. When asked why not, one veteran strategist in a competitor's camp laughingly answers, "God, guns, and gays," and—as though to drive the point home to Giuliani, who is a devoted Yankees fan—adds, "Three strikes, you're out." Like others, the strategist concedes that the public's 9/11 image of Giuliani transcends partisan politics, but argues that the image won't last in a heated primary battle.

Even now there are widespread Republican reservations about Giuliani. He has almost 100 percent name recognition, gets rave reviews for his stellar performance on September 11, and wins praise for his enthusiastic support of President Bush; yet about 70 percent of likely Republican voters don't endorse a potential Giuliani candidacy for president. The *Washington Post*'s Howard Kurtz recently wrote, "Those who think that the 9/11 hero would be a formidable candidate are forgetting about the 9/10 Rudy. Meaning, this is a guy who is pro-choice on abortion, pro-gay rights and moved in with a gay couple after a messy breakup with his wife that came as he was dating another woman."

Most pro-choice Republican politicians and about 80 percent of the public support banning partial-birth abortions. When Giuliani was planning to run against Hillary Clinton for the Senate in 2000, New York's Conservative party chairman Michael Long pledged to help the mayor on two conditions: that he refuse the Liberal party endorsement and that he promise to back a partial-birth-abortion ban. When Giuliani wouldn't agree—even though no Republican had won statewide office without the endorsement of the Conservative party in over 25 years—one conservative activist told *Newsday* that the former mayor must be counting on anti-Hillary sentiment and allowed that conservatives might "vote for the town drunk" over Clinton. A repeated failure to moderate his views would suggest that Giuliani is still counting on that anti-Hillary animus.

Owing to Giuliani's support for abortion, NARAL head Kate Michelman anticipated sitting out a Hillary Clinton–Rudy Giuliani Senate match-up. She explained that NARAL wouldn't "take sides in the race because both likely candidates are abortion-rights advocates." NARAL's New York director Kelli Conlin now welcomes a Giuliani presidential run: "There'd be nothing better for us than to have a situation where both [presidential] candidates are pro-choice."

Mayor Giuliani has regularly marched in the city's vulgar gay-pride parades. When the Log Cabin Republicans—a group of GOP gay-rights advocates—refused to endorse George W. Bush for reelection, it announced, "The Republican Party has a choice: It can be the party of Rudy Giuliani and Arnold Schwarzenegger or it can be the party of Alan Keyes and Rick Santorum." Of course, Iowa voters have a big say in that choice. In 2000, Bush had the endorsement of leading social conservatives—and Gary Bauer and Alan Keyes got a combined 24 percent of the GOP caucus votes.

The first Catholic to top a Republican presidential ticket is unlikely to be not only pro-abortion and pro-gay-rights, but also thrice-married. Barrels of tabloid ink have chronicled the scandalous personal life of Rudy Giuliani, who was openly squiring his "very good friend" Judith Nathan around town long before he called a press conference to tell his wife that he was in love with the divorcée and wanted a separation. The estranged wife—his second—then accused him in a press conference of having had an earlier affair with a longtime aide. His first marriage was annulled in 1982 on the grounds that he and that wife were second cousins.

WORDS FROM THE VAULT

One conservative strategist predicts that when Giuliani's positions and record are better known, conservative primary voters will not only back other candidates but mobilize against him. Republican voters who currently prefer Rudy Giuliani to John McCain because of the latter's well-known maverick streak may not know that Mayor Giuliani endorsed Mario Cuomo for governor in 1994. And those who object to the McCain-Kennedy amnesty for illegal immigrants will learn that it enjoys Giuliani's support. Many conservatives will be surprised to find out that, although Giuliani says Ronald Reagan is his political hero, 20 years ago he was calling attorney general Ed Meese, one of the most respected and beloved figures of the Reagan administration, a "sleaze." Meese's allies still bristle at what they see as Giuliani's political opportunism in joining the assault on Meese to boost his career in liberal New York.

Analysts west of the Hudson see little chance that Giuliani will get the nomination.

The research teams of other GOP contenders for the 2008 nomination haven't yet taken Giuliani on, but George Marlin, who ran as a Conservative in New York's 1993 mayoral race, has helpfully compiled a modest collection of quotes that will give primary voters pause. According to the Rudy Giuliani of 1992, Nelson Rockefeller represented "a tradition in the Republican party I've worked hard to rekindle—the Rockefeller, Javits, Lefkowitz tradition." When the Liberal party of New York endorsed Giuliani for mayor in 1989, it explained, "He agreed with the Liberal party's views on affirmative action, gay rights, gun control, school prayer, and tuition tax credits."

Although Giuliani recently said that he is "seriously considering" a presidential run in 2008, many observers doubt he will seek the nomination. One cynic noted that "there is a big difference in the speaking fees of a future president and a former mayor." Others see Giuliani and McCain competing for the same core supporters and predict a Giuliani bid only if the Arizonan declines to run (though everyone agrees that another terrorist attack on the U.S. would prioritize the War on Terror and provide an opening for the 9/11 Rudy).

"I am who I am," Giuliani recently declared in response to criticism that his views are out of step with the Republican party. Yes; and his dim political prospects are also what they are. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ 2008

The Carolina Kid

Or at least that's what John McCain hopes to be, this time around

BYRON YORK

Columbia, S.C.

It's a warm evening, even for South Carolina, even for late June. It's especially warm—sweat-dripping hot, actually—inside the Lace House, a lovely antebellum home on the grounds of the governor's mansion in downtown Columbia. But heat or no heat, a crowd of South Carolina Republican politicos, candidates, and activists has come to the Lace House to raise money for the party's 2006 candidates—and to get a firsthand look at the event's guest of honor, Sen. John McCain. Of course they're all quite familiar with McCain, whose 2000 presidential campaign died here after an ugly primary fight with George W. Bush. But they've come to see the McCain who is planning to run again in 2008. Is he the same guy? What will his campaign be like? Should they support him? Their feelings seem to be a little, well, complicated.

"Like everyone else, I'm here to support the party," says one woman asked for her thoughts about McCain.

"Well, yes, but what about McCain?"

"Like everyone else, I'm here to support the party," she repeats.

"Let's not talk about McCain," adds another attendee. And those are just the people who decided to come. When the state Republican party sent out invitations a few weeks earlier, it received quite a few responses with messages like "I can't believe you're inviting him to speak" and "I'm not coming." And that was from the party's list of loyal donors.

Even Gov. Mark Sanford—a big McCain supporter in 2000 who, a couple of hours earlier, greeted the senator at the airport—seems a little hesitant to talk about McCain. Ducking out to the front porch with a glass of iced tea, he begs off when asked to assess McCain's prospects, explaining that he needs to greet a few friends. Maybe later. And then, later, Sanford offers a tepid and clichéd read on the situation. "You never say never in the world of politics," he says. "As always, it depends on who you talk to. You can find some folks who are very receptive [to McCain] and other folks who are a lot less receptive."

Well, yes, that's true. In any case, Sanford isn't ready to sing McCain's praises this time around—not yet, anyway. He's up for reelection in November—heavily favored to win a second term—and he's looking for Republican votes. Why alienate those who might be put off by an early embrace of McCain? Just look around, and you'll find Republicans who don't like the senator's position on immigration. (You hear the word "amnesty" a lot.) You'll find Republicans unhappy with his part in last year's "Gang of 14" deal that broke the deadlock over appeals-court nominations. (In South Carolina, the party faithful were locked and loaded for the nuclear option.) Some are still mad that McCain voted against the early Bush tax cuts. And some worry that he's just too old for the job. (He'll be 72 on Inauguration Day 2009, two years older than Ronald Reagan when he took office.)

And yet for all that, there are unmistakable signs of McCain strength in South Carolina. First of all, he's the clear front-runner; his political adviser in the state, Richard Quinn, took a poll in March and found McCain at the top of the GOP presidential heap with 36 percent, followed by Rudy Giuliani with 21 percent, Newt Gingrich with 9 percent, Senate majority leader Bill Frist with 4 percent, Virginia senator George Allen with 3 percent, Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney with less then 1 percent, and 27 percent undecided.

As you might expect, the other candidates dismiss those numbers. "Any polling right now would be kind of meaningless," says one key aide in a rival campaign. "It's going to show that McCain has a huge lead . . . what does that really show?" For one thing, it shows that McCain has name recognition that any candidate would kill for. But it's more than that. When McCain talks about his hard line on federal spending, or his hard line on the war in Iraq, or his support for President Bush and the War on Terror, he's the kind of candidate South Carolina Republican crowds want to hear. He also scored lots of points by campaigning hard for Bush in 2004; Republicans here respect loyalty, and they still respect Bush, who scored a 71 percent favorable rating in Quinn's poll. On top of that, McCain seems to be benefiting from a traditional feeling among GOP voters—last seen in 1996 with the nomination of Bob Dole—that he is a candidate who has waited his turn.

So whatever the reservations of some donors, McCain drew a good crowd at the Lace House, and raised nearly $100,000 for candidates this fall. (The line of big contributors waiting to have their picture taken with him snaked out the door.) Put it all together, and the scene in Columbia says a lot about McCain's chances in South Carolina, in the South as a whole, and in the 2008 primaries. The senator from Arizona is a big deal, the man to beat, the man whose time seems finally to have come. And yet, for many conservative Republicans, there's still something about him that doesn't feel quite right.

NEVER AGAIN

South Carolina will be doubly important for McCain in 2008. For one thing, it will be the first primary in the South; any Republican candidate, McCain included, will have to do well in the GOP's strongest region. But South Carolina will also be crucial for McCain because of his loss here to Bush in the ugly battle of 2000. "With the previous storyline from 2000, of course it's going to be critical," says a McCain confidant. "I suspect that a victory by McCain [in South Carolina] would go a long way toward moving him toward the nomination."

Given that, McCain's team is determined never—repeat, never—to allow what happened in South Carolina to happen again. It's a big motivator for them, even though in their telling of the story the dirty tricks of Bush supporters are significantly overstated. The McCain team's version of events tracks that of Democrats who still cite the 2000 South Carolina primary as an example of Bush's playing dirty. (See my piece "The Democratic Myth Machine" in the April 19, 2004, NATIONAL REVIEW.) Whatever the case, the McCain confidant says simply, "That ain't gonna happen again."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But McCain—all by himself—did real, solid things to lose the 2000 South Carolina primary. Throughout the campaign, which was open to voters of all parties, he told audiences time and again, "I say to independents, Democrats, Libertarians, vegetarians, come on over." That's not the sort of thing that endears a candidate to GOP primary voters. And he sometimes seemed openly hostile to the concerns of evangelical Christians; after he lost South Carolina, he famously lashed out at Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson as "agents of intolerance." He turned off party loyalists with a negative ad that said Bush "twists the truth like Clinton." And to top it all off he complained at length about Bush's campaigning, giving the impression that one of the world's toughest men, the Navy pilot who survived a North Vietnamese prison camp, was whining.

His issues weren't so hot either. In 2000, McCain's signature initiative, campaign-finance reform, was a cause dear to the hearts of Washington analysts and the traveling press corps but far less important to South Carolina voters. "I never picked it up in any of my polling as an issue that resonated with voters either way," says Richard Quinn. "You would hear about it among people who were active in political groups, in fundraising, but I never heard it from voters." Quinn says McCain's stand on campaign finance helped establish his image as a reformer and a man who would fight the system, but it seems clear that, as an issue in South Carolina, it wasn't a winner.

The results showed it. Although McCain's supporters like to stress that he won a solid 42 percent of the vote in the 2000 primary (to Bush's 53 percent), the exit polls show that McCain did poorly with Republican voters. Since the primary was open, anyone could vote; according to the polls, 61 percent identified themselves as Republicans, versus 30 percent who called themselves independents, and 9 percent who said they were Democrats. Among the voters who called themselves Republicans, McCain was trounced, winning just 26 percent of the vote to Bush's 69 percent. Among independents, McCain beat Bush by a similar margin, 60 percent to 34 percent. And among Democrats McCain destroyed Bush, 79 percent to 18 percent.

Most analysts believe that a lot of those self-identified independents were in fact Democrats, who used their votes strategically in an attempt to block Bush. Next time around the primary will also be open, but it seems unlikely that McCain will benefit from the same kind of support. Perhaps just the opposite: If he is indeed the front-runner, and campaigns hard for Republican votes, he might be the *target* of a strategy similar to the one he used in 2000.

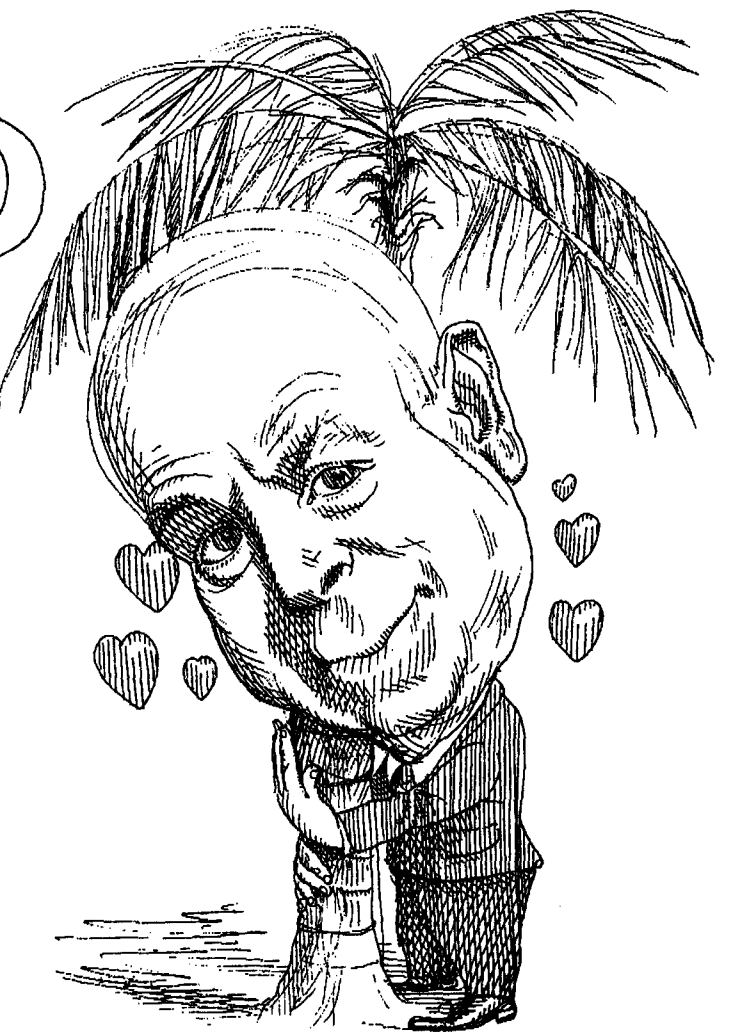
A STEADY STRAIN

In any event, McCain will be dealing with a new set of issues. No one can predict exactly what will be on voters' minds two years from now, but if the primary were held today McCain would face judgment on four basic issues: federal spending, national security, immigration, and social concerns. Two work well—very well—for McCain, and two don't.

"I'm gonna give you some straight talk," McCain tells the group in the Lace House. "We've got to stop this spending and get it under control, or our base will not turn out this November. And that's a fact of life." These days, McCain's talks often start with the budget; he senses a strong desire among Republicans to get back to the days when Republican presidents actually thought it was important to limit federal spending. As the crowd listens, McCain runs through a catalogue of outrageous money-wasters. There's the infamous Bridge to Nowhere ("We cannot do that, my friends. We cannot do that"); there are the 6,140 spending earmarks in the highway bill; and there's the $3 million appropriation to study the DNA of bears in Montana (maybe there was "a paternity issue" involved, McCain quips). It's pure boilerplate, but crowds respond well to it.

And when he makes his pitch, McCain can say he voted against not only the highway bill, but the Medicare prescription-drug entitlement, the cost of which will run into the hundreds of billions of dollars. While one can certainly find examples of McCain's voting for questionable spending, it's hard to deny that he is, on the whole, vastly more conservative than George W. Bush on budget issues.

On the war in Iraq, McCain is a hawk's hawk, with the military record and credibility to back it up. He tells the crowd in Columbia to "take a steady strain," an old Navy expression for keeping things down the middle—in this case, not letting one's emotions go too far to either side as the war drags on. "Don't get too high when we send Zarqawi to the special place in Hell that's



ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been reserved for him," McCain says, "and don't get too depressed when you hear of some attacks that have inflicted casualties."

Warming to his topic, McCain lays out the kind of hopeful scenario that few Republicans dare talk about these days: "If we win, you will find that democracy is a contagious disease and it will spread throughout the Middle East," McCain says. And if we lose? "I believe that we will be fighting this War on Terror and these people in the United States of America and other parts of the world," McCain says somberly. "This is part of a titanic struggle, my dear friends, and we can and must win."

When he talks about Iraq, McCain doesn't waffle, and he doesn't give himself an easy out. "If John McCain and George W. Bush are the last two men standing advocating the exportation of democracy and the protection of democracy in Iraq, so be it," says John Weaver, McCain's closest political adviser. "It's absolutely the right thing to do. He will be there until the bitter end." McCain is betting that pro-military Republican voters in South Carolina will appreciate that kind of steadfastness.

McCain's problems begin when the subject turns to immigration, on which McCain is aligned not only with Bush but with Sen. Ted Kennedy—and against a significant number of Republicans. McCain favors the kind of "path to citizenship" plan that could, given the lax enforcement that has characterized immigration matters in the past, turn into de facto amnesty. And he knows voters in South Carolina have a major problem with the A-word.

McCain and his advisers believe they can win over opponents if they just explain McCain's position more effectively. "The misunderstanding of where he is on immigration may be a little bit of a short-term problem," says Quinn, "but it is more of a communications problem than anything else." But communicating McCain's position can be tough. In his poll last March, Quinn asked a question about immigration and was unable to summarize McCain's stand in a few words, or even a few lines. Instead, the question came out like this:

"On the subject of immigration, a proposal has been made to secure our borders. This includes conducting criminal background checks of illegal immigrants already in the United States and deporting those with questionable backgrounds. Those who remain in the United States would learn to speak English, pay a fine, and apply for a temporary work permit. After six years they would undergo another background check and could apply for citizenship. Do you think that proposal is a good idea or a bad idea?"

With this wording, Quinn found that 77 percent of South Carolinians think McCain has a good idea. But there's a rule in politics: The more you have to explain, the more you're falling behind. And McCain's explanation, at least as stated in Quinn's poll, is a mouthful. "No matter now many times they want to stand up and say it's not amnesty, it's amnesty," says Drew McKissick, a Columbia-based political consultant who opposes McCain. "When it comes to [pleasing] the grassroots, there's no way."

Finally, there are the social issues. McCain is happy to describe himself as pro-life, and he has a record of anti-abortion votes in the Senate. But there are still South Carolinians who have their doubts about him. "They're going to say, 'You're pro-life? Let's talk,'" explains David Woodard, a Clemson University political science professor who also advises conservative Republican candidates. "'What about stem-cell research? Tell us about the depth of your conviction.'" McCain might not fully satisfy them, but he will likely benefit from the fact that few, if any, other Republican hopefuls can boast of a stronger record.

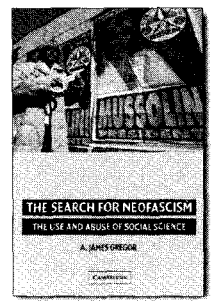
On another highly sensitive issue, McCain is trying to stake out a position that is both anti-gay-marriage and pro-state-rights. He is a strong supporter of an Arizona ballot initiative this November defining marriage as the union of one man and one woman (a similar measure will be on the ballot in South Carolina at the same time). But in June he voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment. His explanation is that he believes marriage is an issue for the states to define, and he would not support a federal amendment unless the Supreme Court knocked down the various defense-of-marriage measures that have been passed by the states. In that case, he says, he would favor federal action.

That position was enough to win the recent approval of Jerry Falwell, but it probably

CAMBRIDGE

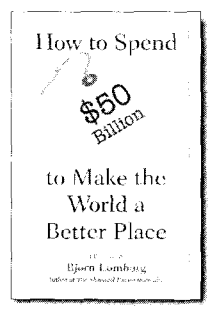
What's NEW from Cambridge?

THE SEARCH FOR NEOFASCISM
The Use and Abuse of Social Science
A. James Gregor



"[F]orceful and highly informative..."
–Zeev Sternhell, The Hebrew University in Jerusalem

$70.00: Hardback: 0-521-85920-4: 318pp
$23.99: Paperback: 0-521-67639-8

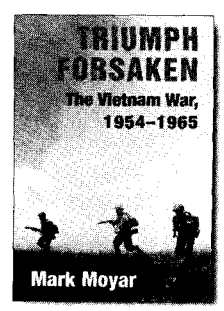


HOW TO SPEND $50 BILLION TO MAKE THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE
Edited by Bjørn Lomborg

"To govern is to choose and this **pithy** book forces us to choose."
–Fareed Zakaria, *Newsweek* columnist

$45.00: Hardback: 0-521-86679-0: 208pp
$12.99: Paperback: 0-521-68571-0

TRIUMPH FORSAKEN
The Vietnam War, 1954-1965
Mark Moyar



"[E]veryone who is interested in a full picture of that oft-misunderstood war should be grateful for his effort."
–James Webb, Marine combat veteran, author of *Fields of Fire* and *Born Fighting*

$32.00: Hardback: 0-521-86911-0: 400pp

Available at better bookstores

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cambridge.org/us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

won't thrill social-conservative activists in South Carolina. And it virtually guarantees that McCain will have an opponent hitting him hard from the right. "What does he do?" asks one GOP strategist who asked not to be named. "Say 'I'm against the Federal Marriage Amendment, and I'm for Ted Kennedy's immigration bill. Please vote for me'?" The strategist begins to laugh at the prospect.

There's no doubt that social issues played a major role in the 2000 GOP primary. But might 2008 be another game entirely? Given the intensity of Republican concerns on spending and national security, will social issues play a less prominent role? McCain would certainly benefit, but that's probably wishful thinking. For one thing, gay marriage, not on the horizon in 2000, will be an issue next time around, and the older issues haven't gone away. "Among Republicans who are really active, social issues—stem cells, abortion, gay marriage—really motivate them more than in some other states," says Woodard, the Clemson professor. "That nexus of issues is more problematic than McCain may think."

ONE OF US?

McCain has two big allies in South Carolina: Governor Sanford and Sen. Lindsey Graham. So far Sanford has not made an announcement about whom he'll support in 2008, but it seems clear that, if he is reelected this November, he'll be back on the McCain bandwagon. (McCain aides say they don't want to pressure Sanford to sign on while he's still campaigning for himself.) As for Graham, the value of his endorsement goes up and down with his own fortunes; these days, he's taking a lot of flak on immigration, on which he holds the same position as McCain. And if voters are mad at Graham, they probably won't like McCain, because many South Carolinians view the two as joined at the hip. McCain didn't do anything to dispel that impression when, during a press conference at the Columbia airport before the Lace House fundraiser, he absentmindedly referred to Graham as "Cindy," the name of McCain's wife. "The Armed Services Committee, of which both Cindy and I are members . . .," McCain said, causing a few laughs among reporters until McCain corrected himself. "The Armed Services Committee, of which both *Lindsey* and I are members . . ."

Other top South Carolina politicians remain uncommitted, as does, of course, the state party. But it's really not endorsements that will be critical for McCain. It's whether he will be able to convince the majority of South Carolina's conservative Republicans that he really is one of them. That doesn't mean he has to share their views word for word and position for position, but he has to prove that he shares the same overall conservative view of the world. Despite all he has going for him, that's going to be difficult. Last October, Woodard took a poll in which he asked 450 state voters, "When it comes to politics, do you consider yourself closer to George W. Bush or John McCain?" Sixty-three percent picked Bush. Twenty-one percent said it made no difference. And just 16 percent chose McCain.

On the other hand, far smaller numbers would call themselves George Allen Republicans, or Mitt Romney Republicans, or Rudy Giuliani Republicans. And somebody will have to inherit the votes of all those who identify with the president. At least right now, John McCain looks to be in the best position to take the prize. If he can keep a steady strain. **NR**

■ **THE MIDTERMS**

Chafee's Challenger

Stephen Laffey tries to knock off the most liberal Republican senator

JOHN J. MILLER

Lincoln, R.I.

HALFWAY up the steep incline of Parker Street, Stephen Laffey jokes, "We should have started at the top and worked our way down." It's a hot July morning here in Lincoln. A hundred feet ahead, the driver of a silver pickup truck announces through a bullhorn that Laffey is "the only U.S. Senate candidate who's campaigning on Parker Street." Several other volunteers follow on foot, ringing doorbells and searching for homeowners who want to meet Laffey, a Republican who is challenging Sen. Lincoln Chafee in the state's GOP primary. Quite a few of them come out to shake hands. "Someone should have checked a contour map," says Laffey with a smile.

Then again, Laffey didn't bother to check a contour map when he decided to take on a sitting senator in a primary—an uphill battle if there ever was one. Perhaps he didn't need to. Recent polls suggest that Laffey, who is the mayor of Cranston, just might win the Republican nomination on September 12. In May, a survey of likely GOP primary voters found him to have a slight lead over Chafee, 46 to 44 percent. "We're going to crush him," boasts Laffey. But whatever the margin, a Laffey victory would surely be the year's biggest political surprise for Republicans.

For conservatives, the surprise wouldn't be merely pleasant, but positively exhilarating—almost the equivalent of what they would have felt two years ago if former congressman Pat Toomey had defeated Sen. Arlen Specter in Pennsylvania's GOP primary. That's because Chafee might be the most irritating Republican in the Senate. The problem isn't simply that he opposes tax cuts, supports partial-birth abortion, and believes that enemy combatants should enjoy habeas corpus rights. After all, somebody has to be the most liberal Republican senator, and chances are it will be a person who hails from a true-blue state like Rhode Island.

What makes Chafee stand out even among figures such as senators Susan Collins and Olympia Snowe—liberal Republicans from Maine—is his sheer flamboyance. In 2004, he announced that he wasn't voting for President Bush's reelection. In what he called a "symbolic protest," he wrote in the name of Bush's father on his ballot. He also threatened to switch parties, something he may very well do if Democrats can welcome him into a Senate majority. Last January, Chafee was the only Republican to oppose the confirmation of Supreme Court justice Samuel Alito. And in March, he described Sen. Russ Feingold's censure resolution to condemn Bush as "positive," because it helped put the issue of wiretapping "into the public awareness." (When these comments achieved their own public awareness—or, more accurately, their own notoriety—he added that he opposed censure.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A close look at Chafee's congressional record suggests that the senator would fit comfortably within the Democratic fold: The American Conservative Union gives Chafee a lifetime rating of 37 out of a possible 100. This is not only the worst performance in the GOP, but it actually places Chafee to the left of Democratic senator Ben Nelson of Nebraska. Chafee's rating for 2005 is a dismal 12, which is precisely the score of Sen. Hillary Clinton. Only 24 senators received a lower score. Twenty-three of them are liberal Democrats, and the other is Jim Jeffords, the "independent" who caucuses with the Democrats. Even Feingold, who is actively courting his party's left wing in anticipation of a presidential run, was rated a point better than Chafee. So it's no wonder that a lot of rank-and-file Republicans have run out of patience with Rhode Island's junior senator.

A DOG NAMED MILTON

In the 44-year-old Laffey, the GOP has a credible alternative to Chafee. He's the twice-elected mayor of Cranston, a small city thick with Reagan Democrats. Laffey grew up in this working-class town and learned about Milton Friedman from a high-school teacher. (Today, that teacher is a campaign volunteer and Laffey owns a dog named Milton.) Laffey became the first member of his family to go to college, at Bowdoin and then Harvard Business School. He spent time on Wall Street before taking a job with Morgan Keegan, an investment bank in Memphis, where he became president at the age of 38. When the company was sold in 2001, he decided to move back to his hometown and open his own firm.

Stephen Laffey

With his family in Tennessee, Laffey went to Rhode Island to look for a house. Before he found one, he read a newspaper story about Cranston's financial mess. So he went over to City Hall and asked to see the audits. "They said they didn't have any," says Laffey. "I called my wife in Memphis and told her I was running for mayor." He hadn't run for anything since his student-council days in high school and college. A year later, after spending $270,000 of his own money—a lot of cash for a Cranston mayoral race—he was elected.

When Laffey took the oath of office, Cranston was on the brink of bankruptcy. The new mayor cut fat from the budget and tangled with the local unions. Priorities were so skewed that Cranston's school-crossing guards—a unionized bunch—were paid the equivalent of $129 per hour. The ensuing fight made news throughout the state. "Ronald Reagan had air-traffic controllers," says Laffey. "I had crossing guards." Today, Cranston's crossing guards are still unionized, but they make only $16 per hour. This well-publicized triumph, which according to Laffey saves Cranston about half a million dollars annually, has served as one of the mayor's calling cards as he campaigns around Rhode Island.

But Laffey's best medicine for Cranston could also be bitter: He hiked property taxes three times. "I had no choice," he says. "I inherited a faulty budget full of unfunded pensions, and if I hadn't raised taxes the city would have fallen into receivership and a judge or the state would have done it." (Cranston's current budget, which took effect in June, actually includes a small tax cut.)

Even though Chafee himself is no tax-cutter—he has voted against extending the life of federal tax reductions, which is effectively a tax increase—he has run campaign ads that try to paint Laffey as a tax-happy pol. Yet Laffey has still managed to win a thumbs-up from anti-tax groups. "Normally, we won't support anybody who has a history of raising taxes," says Toomey, who now leads the Club for Growth. "But we studied the circumstances in Cranston, and Laffey's hands really were tied." Arguably more important than what Laffey has done in the past is the commitment he has made for the future: He has signed the Americans for Tax Reform pledge, promising not to support any tax increases in the Senate. Chafee hasn't followed this lead. Moreover, Steve Forbes—no friend of higher taxes—will host a fundraiser for Laffey on July 24 in Manhattan.

On other issues, Laffey is a mainstream conservative: He rails against runaway federal spending, backs the president on Iraq, supports free trade, believes Congress should pass an enforcement-only immigration bill, and thinks the flag deserves the protection of a constitutional amendment. He's also pro-life, which is hardly a kiss of death in Rhode Island: Gov. Donald Carcieri, a Republican, and Rep. James Langevin, a Democrat, are both anti-abortion.

On energy policy, Laffey departs from conservative orthodoxy. His first campaign commercial, which aired last fall, was a piece of populism filmed at a gas station: The mayor slammed "big oil companies" and "special interests" for high prices. He wants to increase federal fuel-efficiency standards for cars, and use the tax code to promote alternative sources of energy. "We should have solar panels on every roof," he says. He's against drilling in the Arctic and favors offshore wind farms.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee, under the direction of Sen. Elizabeth Dole, has criticized Laffey for this minor apostasy—as if it somehow excuses Chafee's more complete version. Last fall, as Laffey was going on the air with his first TV commercials, the NRSC struck with at least $150,000 in ads against Laffey. Only in Montana, where Republican senator Conrad Burns faces a difficult reelection, has the NRSC spent more—and there, at least, it was attacking a Democrat. "Rather than propping up Chafee against a credible conservative, wouldn't this anti-Laffey cash have been better spent on helping other vulnerable Republican senators, such as Jim Talent of Missouri?" asks Jon Lerner, a consultant with Laffey's campaign. On July 10, the NRSC filed a complaint against Laffey with the Federal Election Commission, alleging that he had used Cranston city resources to promote his U.S. Senate candidacy. No one can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

think of a precedent for a party committee using the FEC to harass one of its own.

The Republican establishment's hostility to Laffey stands in stark contrast to the behavior of Democrats in Connecticut's primary, where Sen. Joe Lieberman faces an unexpectedly strong challenge from antiwar candidate Ned Lamont. Party heavyweights such as Hillary Clinton and John Kerry have offered tepid support for Lieberman, indicating that they'll switch to Lamont if he wins the nomination and Lieberman runs in the general as an independent. In Rhode Island, Laffey has promised to support Chafee if the senator gets the Republican nod, but Chafee has refused to say he'll support Laffey.

COFFEE SHOPS AND WIENER JOINTS

Chafee is in fact counting on the support of Democrats to help him win the GOP nomination. This spring, his campaign mounted an effort to convince them to disaffiliate from their party, at least temporarily, in order to become eligible to vote in the Republican primary. More than 14,000 did so—a huge number in Rhode Island, where turnout probably won't top 50,000 voters. If Chafee prevails on September 12, his victory over a conservative will have been underwritten by national Republican dollars and made possible by local Democratic ballots.

And if Laffey somehow manages to pull off an upset, it will come from having targeted Republican voters for an entire year and engaging in the retail politics of a tiny state whose total population is smaller than that of Dallas or San Diego. Last year, when I first interviewed Laffey, he said that he planned to visit "every coffee shop and wiener joint in Rhode Island." By all appearances, he has done his best to keep pace. "Nobody will outwork me," he said to a gathering of Republicans in Burrillville on July 7. The next day, as he walked around Lincoln in his trademark yellow shirt, Laffey bumped into an old schoolmate who had moved out of Cranston. "Only in Rhode Island," he said, a few minutes later.

With Providence as its single media market, Rhode Island is amenable to a Laffey-style insurgency the way larger states are not. But are its voters simply too liberal for a conservative who wants to be a senator? Although Republicans can win statewide office—there hasn't been a Democratic governor in more than a decade—Laffey faces long odds. Even if he accomplishes the difficult task of unseating an incumbent in the primary, he must go on to win a general election in a year that doesn't favor Republicans. Indeed, a Brown University poll in June showed Sheldon Whitehouse, a former attorney general and the presumptive Democratic nominee, running far in front of Laffey, 55 to 25 percent. Against Chafee, Whitehouse led by just a point, 38 to 37 percent. And that's what the GOP case for Chafee essentially boils down to: the belief that a spectacularly lousy Republican who enjoys a reasonable chance of winning is preferable to a promising young conservative who would have to pull off a political miracle.

But is that the right belief to hold? A Chafee victory would send a powerful message to other liberal Republicans: The party will be there for you when you really need it, even if you're not there when it needs you. Laffey may face an uphill battle over the next few months, but one thing's for sure about the GOP's future with Chafee: It's all downhill from here. **NR**

■ **NATIONAL REVIEW**

A Whale of a Party

For a whale of a guy

On June 27, a gala dinner was held for Ed Capano, at Paone's restaurant, blocks from National Review *offices. Ed has retired, after a career of 45 years at NR. He started in the mailroom; he ended as publisher and CEO. Actually, he will continue on our board—that career is not yet over. At his dinner, many remarks were given, all of them good. (Some of them in verse!) Among the speakers were Ed's children. One of them, Elizabeth, said that she always thought of her father as like a great willow, beneath which she could shelter in a storm. Below are excerpts from this warm, celebratory, and touching evening.*

REMARKS BY CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY

Good evening. I am your emcee for the evening. My name is Buckley. No, not *that* Buckley. Sorry, but you're stuck with me. But the real one is here and you'll be hearing from him soon enough.

Tonight is a happy occasion. Sure, we're losing a publisher and a dear comrade. But Marge is gaining a full-time assistant.

Marge, congratulations. And remember—this transaction is final. No returns.

Ed Capano's first day at National Review was on December 5, 1960. That's a long time ago. Nineteen sixty was the year JFK became president, Francis Gary Powers was shot down in his U-2, Floyd Patterson knocked out Ingemar Johansson, Third Avenue become one-way northbound, and Lexington became one-way downtown.

Eddie was still in college when he started at NR. He's spent his entire professional life at NR. I'm not sure anyone else in this room can match that claim. As Eddie himself said to me recently, it's a claim that no *sane* human being would cop to. But insanity has been our good fortune these last 45 years.

You will hear tonight about various Ed Capanos—Ed the publisher, Ed the circulation wizard, Ed the comforter of hysterical writers, Ed the coordinator of dinners at 73rd Street, Ed the NR cruise gigolo, Ed the father, and, finally, you will hear a rebuttal . . . from Ed himself.

But first you're going to hear from me. Why? Because I have the microphone.

I first met Ed when I was 13. He had been given the job of babysitting me at the tenth anniversary of NR. I don't know what he had done to deserve this thankless task—which was surely the civilian equivalent of pulling KP duty—but we had a lot of laughs that night. And we haven't really stopped laughing since. (The things we laugh *about* have changed somewhat.) So it seems apt that tonight, in a way, *I* finally get to baby-sit *him*.

Ed has in him the very best DNA. His father's first name was Luigi . . . and his mother's last name was Kennedy. You really can't do better than that. It reminds me a little bit of JFK's descrip-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

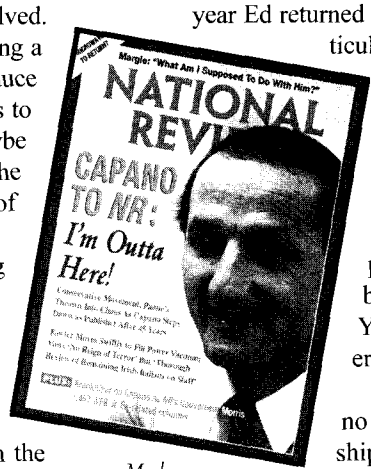
tion of Washington, D.C.: "a city of northern charm and southern efficiency."

Ed's near namesake, Al Capone, famously said that you get more done with a smile and a gun than with just a smile. I don't know that Ed ever had to pull a gun during his time at NR. I'm guessing that he was tempted on more than one occasion. What he did produce, in addition to a smile, was—fun.

Who else but Eddie would have come up with the idea of NR cruises? Over time, his role on these voyages evolved. The board of directors of NATIONAL REVIEW, sensing a good thing when they saw one, instructed him to seduce rich widows and get them to make over their wills to NR. He did not shrink, as others might have. (Maybe that was the Italian side.) He threw himself into the work and became, in time, the Max Bialystock of NR.

Marge, thank you for being so understanding about those midnight telephone calls to your house that began with, "Hel-looooooo? Is my Eddie-kins there?"

Eddie's endurance can be measured in many ways. I asked him to calculate how much time he spent, over those 45 years, in getting to and from the other objects of his devotion—Marge and his children. He made some calculations and came back with the figure that he has probably spent 3.7 years of his life commuting.



Mock cover for the occasion

This heroic tradition will be upheld by his protégé and successor, Jack Fowler, who is also a devoted family man who commutes a total of something like 4 hours per day.

Ed has given NATIONAL REVIEW more than 3.7 years of schlepping. He's given it, indeed, nothing less than his entire life. When the definitive history of the conservative movement is written, there should be a chapter entitled "Ed Capano: The Indispensable Man, 1960–2006." The man with the smile and the fun.

REMARKS BY PRISCILLA BUCKLEY

This may come as a surprise to most of you, but this is *not* Ed Capano's first retirement from NATIONAL REVIEW. That catastrophic development came about many years ago when we were moving from hot lead to computer typesetting, trying to teach our two editorial typists, Evelyne Kanter and Mike Watkins, how to operate cranky early-model computers, which were the best we could afford.

The uncertainties in the typesetting operation proved too much for our volatile production editor, who quit, giving us one week's notice. This, I should remind you, was pre-faxes, e-mail, and spreadsheets. Our copy arrived from a hot-lead plant near New Haven every morning by rail in long galleys. These were cut to line length and pinned to a master sheet with long straight pins—then carved up and repinned in order to insert subheads and illustrations.

What happened is what has so often happened at NR over the years: Ed Capano stepped into the breach. The hardest part of the entire operation was to get Jim McFadden, for whom Ed worked, to release him to the editorial department as its new production editor.

But this, while most satisfying, proved to be only temporary relief. Ed was so competent, so easy to work with, so satisfactory in every way that before we knew it our Virginia publishing company—which also knew a good thing when they saw it—offered him a job at a salary that, as provider for an ever-increasing brood, Ed couldn't refuse. And so, sadly, he quit NATIONAL REVIEW.

Since this story has a happy ending, I can report that within the year Ed returned to the fold to the jubilation of one and all, particularly of this often harassed managing editor. We loved his skills, his enthusiasm, his intelligence, but most of all, we loved the guy. Has anyone ever met anyone more obliging than Ed Capano?

He also brought to NR a touch of genius, a bunch of ideas and a follow-through that have played a major part in keeping this little blue-bordered ship of ours afloat for so many years. You know what Ed's masterstroke is: the discovery and development of annual NR cruises.

NATIONAL REVIEW will sail on into the future, no doubt about it, but it won't be quite the same ship without our Ed. Will he ever be missed! By all, of course, but most particularly by the old-timers in this room, Bill and me, Frances, Rose, and Faith, who knew him back when he was just another college kid from St. John's working in the mailroom.

REMARKS BY RICHARD BROOKHISER (READ BY THE EMCEE)

I am not here to celebrate Ed Capano in person, for a reason he would understand: I am on the road, selling printed material. In my case, it's a book, and books are easy. You write one every year, or two, or five. But a new NATIONAL REVIEW appears every two weeks. It has to be printed legibly and delivered on time, all for a cost that is not ruinous. These, and a hundred other necessary matters, were for many years the domain of the wise and energetic man we celebrate tonight.

I hail him across the great journalistic divide that separates writers and business. We know what writers are like. In a word, they are childish lunatics. I need only mention the Willmoore Kendall Memorial Couch; I suppress the antics of those still among us. The charge of childish lunacy does not apply to our founder, Bill Buckley, though I must point out that Bill's bright idea for winning the 1964 election was to have Barry Goldwater pick Dwight Eisenhower as his running mate. No mean feat that, but how it shrank beside the task of persuading Dwight Eisenhower to accept.

The business side of a magazine must be free of these whimsies. It needs hard work. It needs imagination and creativity. Yes, we writers are creative—it's tough to do that 400th editorial on the evils of big government. Sometimes, we put in four-hour days. But think how much more creative you have to be to sell our prose. To all these tasks Ed brought his good humor—the endless, excellent jokes; the ability, even more precious, to laugh at the jokes of others; the reminiscences of Brooklyn, and the parish priest offering prayers for slumping Dodgers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On that subject, I note that Ed cut his teeth under Jim McFadden, and he has been succeeded in turn by Jack Fowler. But NATIONAL REVIEW is an equal-opportunity employer. There are non-Catholics on the business side. Give us a few weeks and the powers of the Patriot Act, and we will find them. As a lapsed Methodist who spends his time writing about 18th-century Deists, I say God bless them. There have been many times when NATIONAL REVIEW was sustained by prayer—and by the brilliance, the heavy lifting, and the high spirits of Ed Capano, whom we cherish and honor tonight, and every night.

REMARKS BY DUSTY RHODES

There once was a man from NR.
He was known both here and afar.
He has given his life—
Just ask the wife
Of that gentleman from NR.

The gentleman's name is Ed,
About whom it is often said,
He takes readers on cruises,
Our subscribers he schmoozes,
His trips even beat out Club Med.

Our Ed is a talented dancer.
Ask Margie—she'll give you the answer.
He gets up on those toes;
One-two-three-four, he goes.
You might even call him a prancer.

He has guided our readers to Rome,
To Moscow, and even to Nome.
His cruise down the Rhine
Was so mighty fine,
No one wanted to head back to home.

The man from NR runs a book,
Which gets out by hook or by crook.
It carries great ads
(Some good and some bad)
And a cover that has a great look.

He fought lefties throughout the Cold War.
He fought till his knuckles were sore.
There were pinkos galore
All over the floor
Who were hoping to work for Al Gore.

The man from NR is a star.
His friends have come from afar.
He says he'll retire,
Just sit by the fire,
And bring down his golf score to par.

The man from NR has got clout.
The man from NR gets about.
He's been here to lead,
He's planted a seed,
Of this there should not be a doubt.

From top: Margie Capano and her husband; Christopher Buckley and Margie; WFB and Dusty Rhodes

Thank you, Ed, for serving this great conservative cause. When the bad guys are throwing hand grenades, there is no one I would rather be in the foxhole with. You will be missed but never forgotten, and you're only a river away. God bless!

REMARKS BY RICHARD LOWRY

I have a hard time saying all that Ed Capano has meant to NR and to me over the years. When I first started at NR back in 1992 as a very lowly junior editor, Ed always took an interest in me and was always encouraging. Our relationship was greased by our mutual love of baseball, and it's been gratifying to see Ed, an old Brooklyn Dodgers fan, slowly see good sense and become more and more of a Yankee fan over the years.

Editors and publishers famously clash, and we had some disagreements, but long ago we achieved almost a mind meld. It's hard for me to imagine dealing with any significant NR-related dilemma without Ed's counsel.

No one has cared about NR over the years more than Ed. For us carrying on in his absence, the challenge will be to live up to his standard of selfless commitment to the magazine. He was a wonderful colleague. Almost every time he walked into my office, it was with a smile and a laugh, even if he was going to shut my door and tell me about some thorny problem we had to address.

Ed is cheerful, tough, and utterly committed to his family and his faith. It was touching to hear one of his sons say, "I hope one day to be half the man he is"—a sentiment a lot of us share. Ed always said NATIONAL REVIEW is a family, and no one did more than Ed to make it one. Our office is losing a publisher and a father.

REMARKS BY WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

I knew that as the final speaker in the parade leading to the great man himself, I would find myself sitting at Paone's surrounded by voluptuaries who would itemize every one of Ed Capano's accomplishments, leaving me with the simple job of . . . creation. But that is different from exnihilation. Mortimer Adler reminded us on *Firing Line* that the good Lord was the only agent capable of creating something out of nothing. Ed Capano doesn't override that rule. He was never nothing. But it was not possible to predict, 45 years ago, how

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

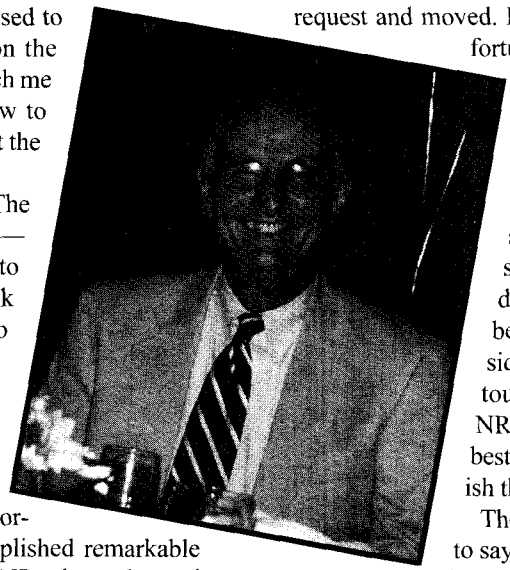
ample his gifts would prove to be. There were some professional grounds for optimism: When Jim McFadden acclaimed your work, it had to be because of its special quality. So—one thing led to another. Ed even replaced McFadden. And then, *per impossibile*, he replaced Bill Rusher. That was when I decided I had better get out of the way before he replaced me.

I just managed that, but not before I had discovered that on top of everything else, Ed Capano was a true gentleman, a friend, a man who understood pain and sought to mitigate it. He did this by exnihilating new subscribers—and by causing everyone he associated with to feel the pride of our involvement in our joint enterprise. What more can be said? Nothing, by me. But Ed will find a way to add to his luster, which if you thought that impossible, you were right.

REMARKS BY EDWARD A. CAPANO

Wow! It's been quite a ride. Thank you all for being here. It's so nice to see so many family members and old friends.

I've known Christo [Christopher Buckley], I guess, about 40 years. He and Dan Merritt used to crew when we sailed Long Island Sound on the *Suzy Wong* [WFB's boat]. Christo tried to teach me to sail, but the only thing I remember is how to burn the garbage. What was amazing was that the garbage had been imported from Mexico.



I'm going to violate two of Bill's rules. The first is, "Inclusio unius est exclusio alterius"—to include one is to exclude others. I'm going to name names. The second rule is, "Never talk for more than five minutes"—I'm going to talk for more.

You all know that I've spent my life at NR, and I can honestly say that I have never worked with a more talented or dedicated group of people than today's.

Rich Lowry, who was thrown into the editorial pit at the ripe old age of 30, has accomplished remarkable things. I remember when he first came to NR—how shy and introverted he was. Boy, what a transformation. Now he's not only a brilliant editor but a TV personality and a widely syndicated columnist. Most important, he's a rabid Yankee fan.

He and my friend Jay Nordlinger, another extraordinary intellect, do an outstanding job turning out a superb product every other week, year after year. Jay is a true Renaissance man—a brilliant writer and editor, a gifted musician and critic, and a very good golfer. Because of these two gentlemen, NR has never been better.

Executive publisher Scott Budd has spent many years doing the impossible, and doing it very well: selling advertising for NR. Selling advertising for an opinion magazine is akin to selling peace in the Middle East.

Jim Kilbridge, our CFO and the keeper of the keys to NR's treasury, treats NR's money as if it were his own. (Hmm, maybe that's why we never have any.) Jim does a masterly job of keeping our creditors fat and happy.

Terry Maloney, circulation director, has the challenging task of making sure that the thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, are reading NR. She does her work with resounding success, year after year.

Priscilla Buckley—Pitts—is one of the loveliest people I've had the good fortune to know. Radiant, charming, with a marvelous sense of humor—you can't help but feel good whenever you're around Pitts. She treated everyone, no matter his station, with respect and dignity, and the effect it had on all who came in contact with her was obvious. This has always stuck with me.

Then there is my good friend Dusty Rhodes, who came to us from Wall Street knowing little about the publishing business but wanting to do something for NR. And do something he did. His guidance and counsel, especially to me, have been invaluable.

One thing I learned from Bill Buckley during my long tenure at NR was to pay attention to the little things—those niceties that bring joy to people. That is one of the most endearing qualities of Jack Fowler. He has a gift for paying attention to the little things. I imposed on Jack many years ago to uproot his family and leave his beloved Fredericksburg to come and work at NR World Headquarters in New York. Jack, being Jack and someone whose disposition is rivaled only by Mother Teresa's, honored my request and moved. He has had a significant impact on the fortunes of NR. I like to think Jack did it for me, but I know he did it for NR. NR will be in very good hands for many years.

Kevin Longstreet, a direct descendant of Civil War general James Longstreet, came to NR as a young pup. He started in the mailroom at 17 and, as I did, grew up at NATIONAL REVIEW. He has been a loyal and good friend and I consider him a surrogate son. One of the most touching moments in my long career at NR was when Kevin asked me to be the best man at his wedding. I will always cherish that.

Then there is Bill Buckley. It is impossible to say anything about Bill that hasn't already been said. So I won't try. I just want to thank him for all the kindnesses he has shown me and my family for so many years. He is truly one of nature's noblemen and has afforded me the opportunity to provide for my family while working at this wonderful magazine that means so much to so many.

You notice that I'm gray and balding. I owe it all to my children: Kathleen, Chris, John Emmett, Elizabeth, and daughter-in-law Leslie. They have provided me with many treasured moments (and many not so treasured) and I am proud of all of them because they have grown into responsible, respectful, and successful adults. All due of course to their mother's influence.

My lovely bride of 42 years has been with me almost from the start of my career at NR and is as much a part of NR as I am. She was a stay-at-home mom whose success can be seen in her children. Without her love and support for all these years I would not have accomplished much. She completes me.

Finally, I want to thank God for guiding me, and for my wonderful wife and children and NR. Thank you all for coming, and God bless. **NR**

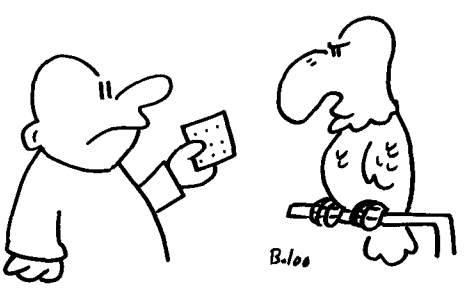
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!

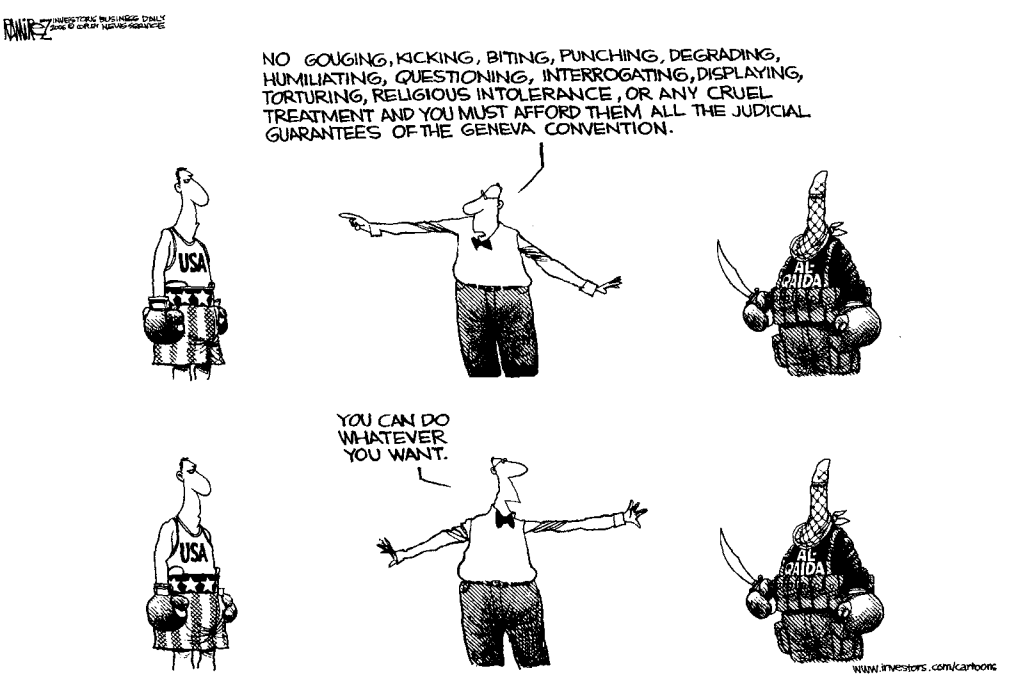
Soak the Rich!

The taunt takes on a dated tone
As tax returns pour in,
The deficit diminishes
And Paulson, with a grin,
Assumes the con at Treasury;
Yet liberals persist—
Chanting as if the New Deal were
Something the masses missed.

—W. H. von Dreele



"Crackers again?—are you profiling me?"


NO GOUGING, KICKING, BITING, PUNCHING, DEGRADING, HUMILIATING, QUESTIONING, INTERROGATING, DISPLAYING, TORTURING, RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, OR ANY CRUEL TREATMENT AND YOU MUST AFFORD THEM ALL THE JUDICIAL GUARANTEES OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION.
USA
AL QAIDA
YOU CAN DO WHATEVER YOU WANT.
USA
AL QAIDA
www.investors.com/cartoons

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long view

ROB LONG

http://www.bloggerspol.com/senator-joelieberman/

The DailyLieb

The Only Political Blog with Joe-Mentum!

SMOOTH JOE COOL
Posted By: DaLieb (moderator)

Greetings, friends, and welcome to my blog! I just got on the plane from Hartford to Bridgeport, where I'm giving a speech in front of a super group called "Connecticut Moderates for Slow, Measured Debate and Keeping a Lid on Things," and let me tell you that I'm all fired up—in a restrained way—about the gang down at CMSMDKLT! But seriously, for a moment, I'd like to say that this blog is a chance for me to reach out to the netroots, as they say, to some of the folks who feel that maybe I've been too moderate in my politics and too restrained in my understanding of the nuances in our prosecution of the war in Iraq. To them, let me just say, Please engage me in the comments section, or during one of my upcoming chats. I'm smoothsenatorjoementum on AIM, and if I'm online I'm looking for good, solid, moderate engagement on any number of moderate issues. TTYL!

Comments (1)

Posted By: nomorethuglicans

Right, right. Like we're supposed to forget that you KISSED the Repugnantkin-in-Chief? That you supported his FRAUDULENT so-called war on so-called "terror" and the build-up of arms to "fight" the so-called "Iraqis" who we ARMED in the first place????????????? Hello???????? Rumsfeld/Cheney/Enron/Halliburton???? Ring any bells, Joe? You know what, "Joe"? We REAL Democrats are tired of your go-along-get-along so-called "strategy" which is nothing more than giving in to the Resatanlicans on every one of their so-called lying "issues." We're going for LAMONT, old man, in a BIG WAY! We here in the NETROOTS aren't buying your so-called quote moderation unquote! NO MORE REPPSYCHOLICANS! Hear me?????????????????????????????????? ????????? Do you????? Does anyone else smell burning toast? It's like all I can smell is burning toast and my head feels so funny and someone told me once that if I kept getting all worked up about politics that I'd give myself a stroke or something and one of the signs is that you smell burning toast but I dotn tihkn htat mi hvanig noe

SMILE ON YOUR BROTHER
Posted By: DaLieb (moderator)

Hello, friends. Great to hear from so many of you! I'm glad my blog has started a moderate and even-keeled conversation! Just got out of a super meeting with some folks in New Preston who are concerned, like I am, with the state of our nation's waterways. This is the kind of thing I'd like to spend more time on in Washington—building links between people who may not see eye-to-eye on every issue, but can find some common ground with regard to water issues. TTYL!

Comments (1)

Posted By: angryangryangryfuryfury-fury

What planet are you on, you crazy pseudo moderate not-so-"secret" Rekillerlican????? You think we're BUYING this load???? Au contraire, okay? The entire "left wing" (which I DON'T think is a bad word, sorry, Mr. President, I'm PROUD to be a LIBERAL and I'm NOT ASHAMED to say it) blogosphere has got YOU in its sights, okay?????? Thank GOD (Yes! Yes! Some liberals believe in God, you know, you right wingnuts don't OWN GOD) I have a Treo so I can keep up with your LIES and call you on your HYPOCRISY while I'm driving to work in TRAFFIC caused by ENRON!!!!!!! Sure it's hard to juggle the Treo and drive safely especially when that truck keeps veering into my lane and all the cars in front of me seem to be stopped and it's hard to

DIALOGUE, ENGAGED
Posted By: DaLieb (moderator)

Great news, friends. The most recent polls show my candidacy with a strong 20-point lead—and growing—all thanks, I'm sure, to the moderate and considered positions I've taken and the respectful, totally non-irrational dialogue we've been able to engage in here on my blog. TTYL!

Comments (1)

Posted By: aaaarrrrrrgggggghhhhhh-hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh

This is INSANE!!!!! People!!!!! We can't let these Reican'tthinkofanythingrightnowtoputher elicans keep the Senate!!!! Joe, it's time for you to STEP DOWN!!!! For the sake of my children!!!! People are DYING, Senator, and you're kissing the president????????????? Whaaaaaa????????? Am I going CRAZY here? You know, I'm experiencing a shooting pain in my left arm. I really think I should

BRIDGING OUR DIVIDES
Posted By: DaLieb (moderator)

Connecticut truly has some of the finest examples of covered bridges in all of America. Today, I walked across several to show my commitment to preserving the unique heritage of this wonderful state! Thanks for checking into my blog and for contributing to this wonderful, pleasant debate. TTYL!

Comments (0)

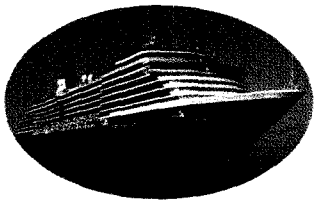
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOIN US THIS NOVEMBER 11–18 AS WE SAIL ON THE *NATIONAL REVIEW*

2006 Mexico Cruise

A "POST-ELECTION" SOJOURN TO BEAUTIFUL CABO SAN LUCAS, MAZATLAN, AND PUERTO VALLARTA WITH

MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR., VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, BERNARD LEWIS, WARD CONNERLY, KENNETH STARR, JOHN SHADEGG, DINESH D'SOUZA, PAT TOOMEY, RICH LOWRY, KATE O'BEIRNE, RAMESH PONNURU, JAY NORDLINGER, JOHN O'SULLIVAN, and DAVID PRYCE-JONES



Tall, dark, and handsome, it's the *oooo-oooo-Oosterdam*—your date for 7 glorious nights this November!

DON'T DELAY ANOTHER MINUTE: THE time has come fto sign up for the ***National Review* 2006 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and remarkably affordable accommodations (prices start at just $1,799 per person, and "singles" can get a luxurious room for only $2,499!)—this special trip will take place November 11–18, 2006, aboard Holland America Line's new MS *Oosterdam*.

Take advantage of this unique opportunity to meet top conservatives: "Definites" for our voyage are Nobel Prize-winning economist **Milton Friedman**, supply-side economic guru **Arthur Laffer**, esteemed historian **Victor Davis Hanson**, eminent academic **Bernard Lewis** (*the* world expert on Islam's bloody history with the West), conservative-stalwart Congressman **John Shadegg** (R, Az.), former federal judge, U.S. Solicitor General, and Clinton special prosecutor **Kenneth Starr** (now the dean of the Pepperdine Law School), former Congressman and now Club for Growth chief **Pat Toomey**, leading "quotas" foe **Ward Connerly**, acclaimed author **Dinesh D'Souza**, plus the "gang" from *NR*, led by none other than **William F. Buckley Jr.**, who will be joined by Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editors **David Pryce-Jones** and **Ramesh Ponnuru**, Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger**, and Editor-at-Large **John O'Sullivan**.

Join them for seven relaxing days and nights of politics and policy, conservative revelry, and world-class luxury cruising.

As *NR* cruise alumni (there are thousands, the "typical" one has gone on three or four of our very *bon* voyages!) know, our trips are remarkable events, marked by scintillating political shoptalk, wonderful socializing, intimate dining with our editors and speakers, making new friends, the rekindling of old friendships—and, of course, grand cruising. That's what's in store for you on the ***National Review* 2006 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**.

There are countless reasons to come, but none bigger than the luminaries who will be aboard this luxury trip—what a truly extraordinary gathering! It's one of the best ensembles we've ever had on an *NR* cruise, which guarantees that our seminar sessions (featuring ample audience "Q & A") will be fascinating.

- Imagine **Bill Buckley** and **Milton Friedman** discussing the national and global economies, giving their unrivaled thoughts on where America has been, is, and is going in the pursuit of free markets and liberty.
- Two years ago *NR* cruisers were enthralled by the interchanges between **Bernard Lewis** and **Victor Davis Hanson** on the brutal revival of the age-old struggle between Islam and the West. These academic giants—joined by **David Pryce-Jones**, *NR*'s respected expert on all things Arab—will be with us yet again to provide their razor-sharp insights on America's dealings in the Middle East.
- Who is better positioned to discuss the state of the federal courts than former judge and Solicitor General **Kenneth Starr**? Or the fight against race quotas than **Ward Connerly**? Or the latest phases in America's culture wars than **Dinesh D'Souza**? We are terribly fortunate to be sailing again with these thoughtful conservative leaders.
- Arizona Republican **John Shadegg** and former Rep. **Pat Toomey** (now running the Club for Growth) are two true-blue conservatives who've never backed away from principle—their authoritative and honest take on the state of the GOP on Capitol Hill following the November 7th elections is something no one will want to miss.
- And they'll be joined in all the ruminating, elucidating, and analyzing of the 2006 elections and their aftermath by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by **Rich Lowry**, who will be ably assisted by **Kate O'Beirne**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and **John O'Sullivan**.

As *thousands* of *NR* cruise alumni

ENJOY SEVEN BALMY DAYS AND COOL CONSERVATIVE NIGHTS!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SAT/Nov. 11	San Diego, CA		5:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
SUN/Nov. 12	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening religious services
MON/Nov. 13	Cabo San Lucas (Mexico)	8:00 AM	6:00 PM	late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 14	Mazatlan	8:00 AM	6:00 PM	
WED/Nov. 15	Puerto Vallarta	8:00 AM	11:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 16	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 17	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 18	San Diego, CA	7:00AM		

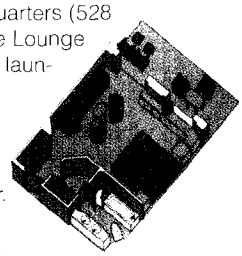
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LUXURY CABINS START AT $1,799 P/P!
165 STATEROOMS ALREADY RESERVED!

Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Oosterdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Holland America), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin:

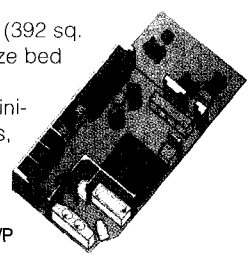
Age 18+: $1,099 p/p Ages 2 to 17: $999 p/p Infants: $499 p/p

DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (528 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and Personal Concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry-cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.



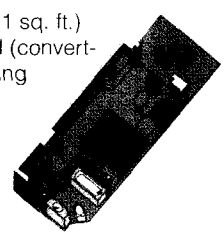
Category SA
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,499

SUPERIOR SUITE Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.



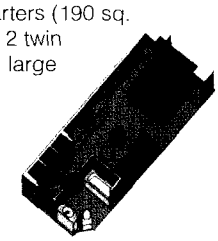
Category SS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,299 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.



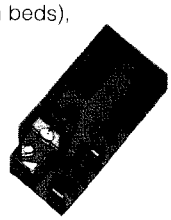
Category VA
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,499

LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,299

LARGE INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (185 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499

know, our seminars, receptions, and intimate dining with speakers all come on top of a great Holland America cruise, which takes place on one of the best ships afloat. The *Oosterdam* (still shining and gleaming from her recent inaugural) is beautiful, with sumptuous accommodations, antique-filled public spaces, an indulgent and courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions. It's the perfect vessel to take us to:

CABO SAN LUCAS Where the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Cortes meet at Land's End, "Cabo" sits on the tip of the Baja Peninsula. Sun and sand are big here, but the fish are even bigger. Marlin, sailfish, tuna, and billfish all abound in these rich waters.

MAZATLAN is the home of Mexico's largest shrimp fleet and numerous beachside restaurants specializing in this tasty creature. Explore the colonial villages of the Sierra Madres and hold your breath as you watch the Papantla Flyers work their acrobatic magic.

PUERTO VALLARTA The quintessential resort, "PV" is the darling of the Riviera. Stroll cobblestone streets lined with chic boutiques and galleries. Explore the bustling City Market, or while away the afternoon on a white-sand beach.

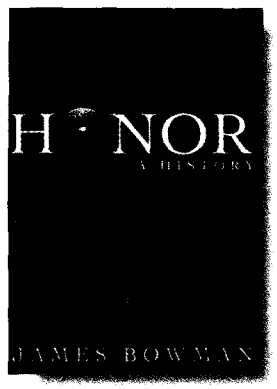
The **National Review 2006 Post-Election Mexican Cruise** will be remarkable—but then every *NR* sojourn is remarkable. Our winning program of seminars (we'll have six), cocktail parties (three are scheduled—they're *great* opportunities to chat and have photos taken with your favorite conservatives), late-night poolside smokers (two are in store, featuring **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac), and dining with our editors and speakers (on at least two nights)—it's all something you really *must* experience. Sign up now—over 165 cabins have already been reserved! To get more information, call The Cruise Authority at 1-800-707-1634. Or to reserve your stateroom right now please visit our secure website—**www.nrcruise.com**.

Take the trip of a lifetime with some of America's preeminent intellectuals, policy analysts, and political experts—**Milton Friedman, William F. Buckley Jr., Victor Davis Hanson, Bernard Lewis, Kenneth Starr, Dinesh D'Souza, John Shadegg, Pat Toomey,** and *NR* Editors **Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger, John O'Sullivan,** and **David Pryce-Jones**—on the ***National Review* 2006 Post-Election Mexican Cruise.**

BOOK YOUR LUXURY CABIN NOW!
CALL THE CRUISE AUTHORITY AT
1-800-707-1634 OR VISIT US AT
WWW.NRCRUISE.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Worth Fighting For



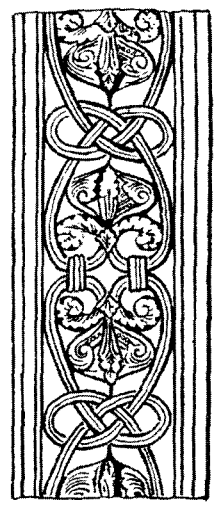
Honor: A History,
by James Bowman
(Encounter, 265 pp., $25.95)

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

As Robert E. Lee agonized over whether to remain loyal to the government of the United States on the eve of Virginia's secession early in 1861, Virginia's favorite son confided in his wife the solemn standard he would use to make up his mind. "There is no sacrifice I am not ready to make for the preservation of the Union," he wrote her in a letter, "save that of honor." Today we can still feel the oppressive liberation of that sentence. Those were living words. Every one of them was cautiously weighed, and all people with the ability to read at that time would have understood their precise import—to wit, that not all was up for debate; the cosmos wasn't infinitely pliable; the civilized man had to have a spine. Overriding Lee's ardent desire to remain faithful to the country and the army that had commissioned him to serve was something greater and irreducible, which was, of course, his honor.

When James Bowman, one of our most perceptive thinkers and discerning critics of the media, had his draft number come up in 1970 for service in the Vietnam War—a war he then opposed—he felt immense relief when the medical officer washed him out for a physical debility. Yet Bowman noted the officer's manly sympathy for him as he did so. The doctor might have believed that he had contributed to handicapping the young man, denying him that ultimate test of manhood that Bowman would naturally have wished to pass; he might have been compromising, in a word, the young man's honor. Bowman walked away with a feeling of blessed reprieve 36 years ago, but he never forgot the sense that he and the medical officer, both men living at the same historical moment, nonetheless inhabited different worlds, different spiritual atmospheres. The doctor didn't belong to Lee's world, but he didn't belong entirely to Bowman's either.

James Bowman now presents his *Honor: A History* as a highly readable and impressively bold attempt not only to define what this elusive idea called honor really means in its many colors through time but to account for its passing out of the popular vocabulary over the last 90 years or so—thereby examining the consequences with which we are left to live and, sometimes, suffer. Bowman makes a modest claim when he draws us to his subtitle to say that this is *a*, not *the*, history of honor, but this claim is a bit of preemptory modesty. Although few other books on this less than foot-tapping topic in a populist time exist, surely he has written the one by which others will be judged in the future, assuming that there will be sensible—and honorable—people left in the future to do the judging. Their loss would be, of course, inestimable. For honor is, Bowman writes, "the standard by which we judge our public men and women—a form of judgment which, even in a non-'judgmental' age such as ours, it is scarcely possible to imagine being without."



An aura still hangs about the word, if not always the idea. (Some people actively despise both.) Regardless of the promulgation of written honor codes here and there, honor's strictures have rarely gotten themselves recorded on paper. Honor isn't like statutory law; it belongs more to the realm of the felt and assumed than to that of the thought and legislated. At its most elemental, Bowman writes, honor is simply "the good opinion of the people who matter to us," and without it the society of others, from neighborhoods to nation-states, isn't possible. Whatever action earns that regard sows the seeds of honor; whatever offends that regard calls down scorn. Honor embraces the idea of *saving face*; it's not just about what we are but about what we show the world. A hermit may be able to achieve sanctity, but that he might wish to gain honor is, to say the least, absurd. He hasn't a need for it. Honor requires approval. It needs an audience.

A defense of the concept of honor makes for a tougher, less obvious, case than may be apparent to most of us. Honor's merit we would think unassailable. Think of the formidable, almost nostalgic comforts we find in such phrases as *on my honor*, *Scout's honor*, and *you're on your honor*—not to mention the major chord sounded in the pledge from the Declaration of Independence of "our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor." They feel like breezes from a freer land. Yet honor is not always an unalloyed good everywhere and for everyone; its desirability at any one time hinges on the peculiarity of its social setting or, as we say now, its context. Gentleman-soldiers can live by honor, but so can thieves, thugs, and Islamic radicals who engage in suicide bombings and "honor killings."

In this way honor differs from morality, the claims of which are universal, whether or not universally applied. All that matters is who's being honored and who's doing the honoring. And people have to sign on to an honor code; they must agree about what it means. Re-

Mr. Simmons is director of the Dow Journalism Program at Hillsdale College, and author of *Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vealingly, the formula *to honor and obey* has long since been dropped by many moderns from the wedding ceremony; feminists may object to *obey*, but few, feminist or not, can claim with confidence to know what *honor* means anymore. It no longer signifies. Honor must stand in time's weather like everything else.

It is here that Bowman shows himself in this meticulous study a keen and detached reader of history, for while he doesn't hide his own qualified views on honor (he's for it), he doesn't play the advocate only. He is most committed to showing how the idea has evolved from out of the bogs of prehistory through ancient, medieval, Renaissance, and modern times—from the Homeric hero through to the flower of high-spirited, comic chivalry in Don Quixote to the muddy horrors and waste of World War I—until today, in the backwash of *The Catcher in the Rye* and Vietnam, in what Bowman calls a "Post-Honor culture," the most conspicuous residual forms of honor we see are, on the happy end, that of the military and, on the low end, that of street gangs. Bowman takes a sharp, exhaustive look at most of them, and his critical sense for describing and evaluating never gets overrun by his eagerness to resuscitate the idea of honor as an ideal. Lavish, well-chosen references to aristocrats, politics and politicians, warfare, literature, and the popular culture of movies, TV (*The Sopranos*), and music fill this history—which, amazingly, for all its close analysis, still manages to read less like a study and more like a story.

Bowman makes for the journey a useful distinction between what he calls reflexive and cultural forms of honor. The first one we all understand instinctively: A child hits back when hit, a nation fights back when attacked. It's glandular honor. But cultural honor "comprises the traditions, stories, and habits of thought of a particular society about . . . the proper and improper uses of violence." We might call it reflective honor. It largely defines a culture's values and, when this form of honor is threatened, the very foundations of a society can shake and even shatter. Much of the book is a meditation on the hardy survival of one and the steady erosion or transformation of the other.

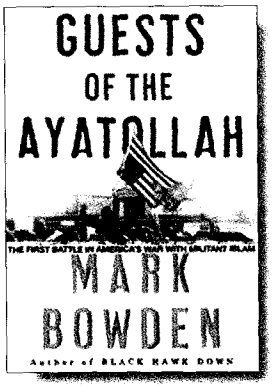
A few points will surprise some readers, particularly Bowman's nicely accurate account of the historical bias of Christianity against secular notions of honor in the West. Talk about clashing codes: Turning the other cheek or loving others as oneself has little to do with slyly saving face or violently getting back at an enemy for the sake of one's honor. But as the centuries passed, the rough edges of those sensibilities were worn down until the 18th and 19th centuries, when both were fused so beautifully that the cultural ideal of the honorable Christian gentleman—the Victorian accommodation—emerged and has not been surpassed for sweetness and strength to this day.

When cultural honor is threatened, the very foundations of a society can shake and even shatter.

Perhaps it couldn't last. Too many forces have conspired against it and one morning the sun had to rise on us and our contemporary moment. The new enemies of honor are, predictably, manifold. The spirit of democracy is one; if all people are to be considered the same in worth, the premium placed on distinction of any kind becomes less attractive and more expensive. Another is the multicultural attitude, which posits conflicting ideas about what constitutes honor; codes of honor within a community are strained without consensus. The therapeutic elevation of victimhood corrodes external standards and excuses dereliction. Then we have those odorous, overlapping forms of idealism and pacifism—abetted relentlessly by the media and miseducation in the schools—that usually assume vastly different views of human nature itself. These enemies Bowman profiles with subtlety and acuity while also suggesting a few ways to combat them.

Wherever the larger culture goes, though, personal honor, a term dear to Evelyn Waugh, remains open to us. The struggle to be honorable, which means nothing less than the effort to become better than one really is, pays off. As Browning once wrote, "When the fight begins within himself, a man's worth something." **NR**

A Dark Era Dawns



Guests of the Ayatollah: The First Battle in America's War with Militant Islam, by Mark Bowden (Atlantic Monthly Press, 704 pp., $26)

DUNCAN CURRIE

"LIKE most of the great turning points in history," writes Mark Bowden of the 1979–81 Iranian hostage crisis, "it was obvious and yet no one saw it coming." The CIA sure didn't. Less than six months before Iran's pro-American shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, fled the country in the face of violent unrest, the agency reported that Iran was "not in a revolutionary or even a prerevolutionary situation." That was in August 1978. "A year and a revolution later," says Bowden, "America was still underestimating the power and vision of the mullahs behind it."

His new narrative of the hostage ordeal, *Guests of the Ayatollah*, is a magisterial work of historical journalism. It should instantly become the definitive account of an event that ruined the Carter presidency, confirmed the Iranian theocracy, emboldened a generation of Islamic radicals, spurred Saudi Arabia's aggressive promotion of Sunni Wahhabism (lest Iran's Shiite fundamentalists rule the roost), and presaged the central challenge to post–Cold War U.S. foreign policy. It is

Mr. Currie is a reporter at *The Weekly Standard*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also a crackling bit of storytelling: what readers have come to expect from the author of *Black Hawk Down* and *Killing Pablo*. Bowden has an almost Tom Wolfeian flair for detail and a knack for shaking every last recollection, however awkward or discomforting, out of his subjects.

His principal subjects here are the former American captives, whose individual stories have remained shrouded in anonymity. The sheer volume of names sprinkled throughout 637 pages of text can be overwhelming, but the prose is gripping. It is hard to read Bowden's blow-by-blow description of the initial takeover of the embassy and not find yourself rooting for the Americans to thwart their attackers—even though you know that won't happen. Likewise his treatment of the ill-fated Desert One rescue mission, which claimed the lives of eight U.S. servicemen.

That Bowden is not a partisan axe-grinder—that he writes and reports with such sober objectivity—makes his book all the more satisfying. He humanizes the U.S. captives in a manner that is both poignant and baldly frank. While most Americans remember the hostage episode as a post-Vietnam embarrassment, Bowden reminds us that for the detainees it was a harrowing emotional rollercoaster.

Consider Don Hohman, a stubborn Army doctor. Several days into the hostage taking, he "risked being shot as an escapee" in order to race into his office and procure an adrenaline shot for Bill Belk, a U.S. Foreign Service officer who was choking (and nearly died) from an allergic reaction to an insect bite. Hohman saved his life. Or take State Department communicator Rick Kupke, who stayed inside a chancery vault shredding documents while Iranians stormed the embassy. For his resistance, Kupke was put through a mock execution. In many ways, *Guests of the Ayatollah* is a tribute to such people, who survived 444 days of fear, deprivation, and, in some cases, physical abuse.

Those 444 days began on November 4, 1979, which had been declared National Students Day in Iran. (One year earlier the shah's security forces had opened fire on college kids demonstrating at Tehran University.) That morning a fanatical mob of Islamist students barreled their way into the U.S. embassy and began rounding up hostages. They demanded that Washington extradite the shah back to Iran—he had been granted asylum in the U.S. for medical care—where he would almost surely face execution.

Meanwhile, the youthful hostage takers prodded their captives to cough up evidence of CIA plotting. The captors told grisly tales of torture by SAVAK, the shah's secret police, and spun conspiracy theories that would have made Oliver Stone blush. They viewed every American in Iran as a potential spy with links to SAVAK and knowledge of the 1953 U.S.-backed coup. If America was the Great Satan, the CIA was his pitchfork, the means by which he controlled all aspects of Iranian life.

November 1979 would mark a hinge point for Iranian society, when secularists and reformers lost all hope of forging a Western-style democracy.

Had the CIA actually been such a huge presence in Iran, the hostage fiasco might have been averted. As it was, writes Bowden, "the agency was pathetically far from being able to influence events." Indeed, it "had not been actively spying in Iran for years. That was part of the problem. It was why no one had adequately foreseen the collapse of the shah's regime."

Less than two years before the embassy blitz, during a December 1977 New Year's Eve dinner in Tehran, President Carter praised the shah's regime as an "island of stability" in the region. On the eve of the hostage crisis, the tiny CIA station in Tehran "had no Farsi speakers and a combined experience in Iran of fewer than five months." Tom Ahern, the station chief, had logged only four months on the job. At a meeting with White House officials shortly after the takeover, CIA director Stansfield Turner sheepishly admitted that he did not know which Iranian faction was responsible.

The hostage takers officially called themselves "Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line"—the imam being Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, paladin of the Islamic revolution. Khomeini did not devise or sanction the assault, but he quickly voiced his approval once it happened. The provisional government of Mehdi Bazargan soon collapsed, and the mullahs continued their ascendance to absolute power. November 1979 would mark a hinge point for Iranian society, when secularists and reformers lost all hope of forging a Western-style democracy.

It also marked a hinge point for the American military. The hostage-rescue attempt was the first mission undertaken by Delta Force, a new Army unit designed for special operations. The model for Delta was the British Special Air Service, but its chief templates for hostage-rescue success were the Israelis in Entebbe (1976) and the West Germans in Somalia (1977). The inaugural Delta mission in April 1980 ended tragically, before U.S. troops could reach Tehran. But as Bowden notes, it "spurred the U.S. military to place a greater emphasis on special operations."

The hostage stalemate itself ended when Sadegh Tabatabai, a former member of the provisional government, brokered a series of talks in September 1980 that eventually bore fruit. The final U.S. captives were released on January 20, 1981—the day Ronald Reagan became president. As for the much-ballyhooed "October Surprise" theory—the notion that Tehran made a secret pact with Reagan aides to wait until after the November election before springing the hostages—Bowden deems it highly improbable.

"The most likely explanation," he writes, is that "the deal to release the hostages was complicated, and it took three months of difficult negotiations to achieve. All of the hostage takers I interviewed said that the decision to wait until Carter officially left office was deliberate, a final insult to the man they had propped up as the representative of the devil on earth."

Bowden made two trips to Iran: one in December 2003, the other in August 2004. He reports that the hostage taking—what Iranians call the *gerogan-giri*—is still taught to schoolchildren as a heroic moment when Iranians wrenched their national soul back from the grips of an evil empire, all the while treating their American prisoners benignly. The crashing of U.S. aircraft at Desert One becomes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proof of divine intervention: Allah supposedly roused dust storms to save the hostage takers.

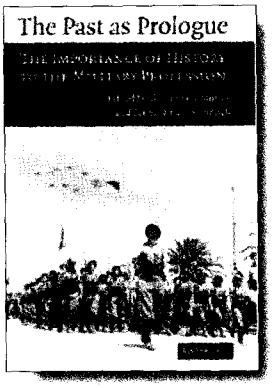
American ignominy thus morphs into an Iranian "fairy tale." But its stock is depreciating. "Many (if not most) Iranians today aren't buying it," says Bowden. Young Iranians in particular are surprisingly pro-American, at least when compared with the 1979 generation. Even some of the former hostage takers now regret their actions and oppose the mullahs. One hostage taker, Abbas Abdi, went to jail for publishing a survey that found 74 percent of Iranians in favor of restoring diplomatic relations with America.

Bowden manages to keep his own politics offstage for most of this book—that is one of his strengths as a storyteller. But he does paint a sympathetic portrait of Carter. As Bowden sees it, the 39th president was torn between the hawkish resolve of national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, the quixotic diplomacy of chief of staff Hamilton Jordan, and the toothless moderation of secretary of state Cyrus Vance (who resigned after Desert One). His efforts to bring home the hostages may in retrospect seem Lilliputian, but Carter was stuck in an impossible situation. There were no "good" options, and the Iranians were duplicitous negotiators.

That may all be true. But does it follow, as Bowden suggests, that "President Carter deserves credit for his restraint"? Perhaps sterner measures—such as a more robust military campaign or a naval blockade—would have triggered hostage executions. In the end, every single hostage made it out alive. But the failure to liberate those hostages by force ensured the permanence of a terror-sponsoring Iranian theocracy. Just four years after the embassy standoff began, one recipient of Tehran's largesse, the terrorist group Hezbollah, killed 241 Americans in Beirut.

Indeed, our muddled response to the hostage taking provided an incalculable boost to anti-American fanatics worldwide. If, as Bowden's subtitle puts it, the Iranian crisis was "the first battle in America's war with militant Islam," then winning that battle, not simply protecting the hostages, should have been our paramount objective. But instead we lost, and have been reaping the baleful consequences ever since. **NR**

Lessons Learned



The Past as Prologue: The Importance of History to the Military Profession, edited by Williamson Murray and Richard Hart Sinnreich (Cambridge, 298 pp., $23.99)

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

Does the study of history have anything to offer today's makers of defense policy? This is the question that lies at the heart of *The Past as Prologue*, a set of remarkable essays produced as part of an Anglo-American scholarly collaboration that took place in 2003. Edited by Williamson Murray, an eminent military historian, and Richard Hart Sinnreich, a retired U.S. Army colonel who has become one of America's most insightful military commentators, *The Past as Prologue* offers observations on the utility of history by both renowned academics (including Murray himself, Sir Michael Howard, and Colin Gray) and professional military officers, both British and American.

All of the essays support the conclusion that the study of history is useful, indeed necessary, to the military professional. They are united in opposition to the school of thought that took hold around the time of the first Gulf War, which argued that accelerating technological change has "transformed the very nature of war." Advocates of that school contended that emerging technologies and "information dominance" would eliminate "friction" and the "fog of war," providing the commander and his subordinates near-perfect "situational awareness," thereby promising "the capacity to use military force without the same risks as before." For instance, a former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. William Owens, on more than one occasion made the extraordinary claim that "technology could enable U.S. military forces in the future to lift the 'fog of war,'" and that "battlefield dominant awareness—the ability to see and understand everything on the battlefield—might be possible."

But this is nonsense. The worst of the military-transformation literature—the assertions that information technology has changed the nature of war—is an example of historically undisciplined theorizing. Theory is important to the study of war, but not in the absence of historical context. Technology may have changed the *character* of war, but not its nature. History teaches, and the experiences of our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan confirm, that the nature of war includes chance, uncertainty, ambiguity, contingency, and danger arising from the complex interplay of decisions, actions, and events; that since causes interact in ways unforeseeable by even the historically sophisticated, similar causes do not always produce similar effects; that initial conditions offer only a glimpse of the possible outcomes; and that, accordingly, as long as war is a human undertaking, such phenomena as "friction" will persist.

But *The Past as Prologue* also rejects the simplistic view of history that informs the yearning of too many military professionals for didactic guidance. They seek a source of reliable maxims upon which to base future action—but history becomes useful only if it is studied, not merely read. Only in the former case can it become a true means of diagnosis and understanding; the alternative is merely to "raid" history in an effort to cherry-pick historical examples that support one's pet theory. Unfortunately, this prac-

Mr. Owens is an associate dean of academics and a professor of national-security affairs at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I. He is writing a history of U.S. civil-military relations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tice is all too frequent among military writers today, whether they are pushing transformation, "network-centric warfare," or "fourth-generation warfare."

The fact is that history, properly studied, raises more questions than it answers. It confronts us with unpleasant possibilities and demolishes beliefs. As Murray observes, for those who believe that technological advances have made it possible to achieve predictability about war, history is at best an inconvenience and at worst an outright embarrassment.

As one might expect from serious students of military affairs, many of the book's authors take Carl von Clausewitz, the 19th-century Prussian "philosopher of war," as their guide. Clausewitz saw theory and history as inseparable in educating the mind of the soldier. He rejected history as a way to derive prescriptive rules of action; he saw it, instead, as a way to hone judgment before the battle or campaign, to educate "the mind of the commander, or, more accurately, to guide him in his self-education, not accompanying him to the battlefield."

The question of the utility of history is inextricably linked to the content of professional military education. This connection is the focus of two very important essays in the collection: one, by retired Marine Lt. Gen. Paul Van Riper, an autobiographical look at the role of historical study in his own professional development; the other by Sinnreich, who traces the evolution of military education in the U.S. These two essays map out the ebb and flow of historical study in professional military education since the founding of my own institution, the Naval War College, in 1884, and post some warnings about the future.

As Sinnreich observes, military history and military education have been "awkward partners." In his classic study of American civil-military relations, *The Soldier and the State*, Samuel Huntington suggested a possible reason for this: the role of "technicism"—concentration on a technical specialty—in American military culture. Thus, until the early part of the 20th century, the U.S. Army was engineering-minded, not military-minded; and even today, it can be argued that the U.S. Navy is more seamanship-minded than naval-minded (i.e., concerned with geopolitics and strategy).

Accordingly, Stephen B. Luce had to overcome serious cultural barriers to establish the Naval War College in the first place, and even after the institution achieved worldwide renown because of the writings of its most famous faculty member, Alfred Thayer Mahan, the Navy sought to shut it down. The Navy's thinking was that a naval officer ought to be at sea rather than wasting his time studying strategy at Newport.

For Van Riper, his year at Newport was a watershed in his appreciation for the study of history. When he entered the Marine Corps in the 1950s, the nuclear revolution had convinced the military that "all was now new" and the past was irrelevant. Military education came to be dominated by political science and management studies, the sterility of which contributed to the U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

Then came the "Turner Revolution" at Newport. In the early 1970s, Adm. Stansfield Turner reorganized the basic curriculum of the Naval War College into three blocks, one of which "deliberately resurrected the intensive Luce-Mahan foundation in theory and history that had declined in the intervening years." As director of the Marine Corps Command and Staff College and later first president of Marine Corps University, Van Riper was able to extend the Turner Revolution to the Marine Corps. A similar flowering of historical study occurred at the other war colleges and command and staff schools as well.

Van Riper worries, however, that "the erroneous ideas on military education held by post–World War II military leaders are again creeping back into the system." He contends that the alleged promise of information technology in "revolutionizing" war adumbrates a return to the sort of shallow thinking that characterized the McNamara Pentagon in the 1960s and led to America's undoing in Vietnam. Now, instead of McNamara's systems-engineering approach to military decision-making, we have methodical planning techniques, such as "effects-based operations" and "operational net assessment."

Van Riper is right to be worried. At Newport, I have heard too many Navy officers gloat about the "end of the Turner Revolution." The new mantra has become "teaching to competencies," which suggests that the purpose of professional military education—to broaden the intellectual and military horizons of officers to encompass the larger strategic and operational issues that will confront them in the future—has been abandoned for mere training.

This is a step backward. The Turner Revolution was based on the idea that educating the mind through historical inquiry is good in itself, that absolute prediction of the future is impossible but that patterns emerge from the study of the past, patterns that permit us to make educated guesses in light of a range of potential outcomes. One studies Thucydides, for example, not for antiquarian purposes, but because such study enables the military leader to make informed judgments about the future.

Officers preparing to fight future wars must, of course, be able to exploit emerging technologies; and they must possess cultural awareness of both our enemies and our friends. *The Past as Prologue* makes it clear why, important as these factors may be, they are sterile unless grounded in a careful and thorough examination of the past. **NR**

AT THE POLO GROUNDS

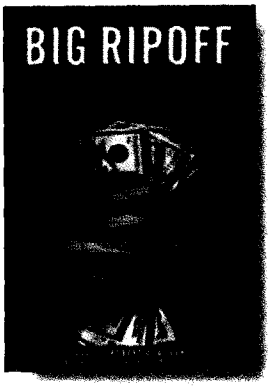
in memory of my father

Baseball for beauty!
the diamond, home plate
the bases & foul lines
chalked snowy white
bright crack of the bat
the quantum packed ball
singing into the glove
the infield grass
green as Eden
the outfield mystics
lost in air
the loud-mouthed egotists
of the infield
raising hell
king of the ant hill
the pitcher touches his cap
squatting in dirt
the catcher making it happen
sweats it out

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gravy Train



The Big Ripoff: How Big Business and Big Government Steal Your Money, by Timothy P. Carney (Wiley, 285 pp., $24.95)

MICHAEL J. NEW

THE relationship between business and government is one of the most misunderstood in all of politics. Many people reflexively assume that wealthy corporations conspire with Republicans to cut taxes and loosen regulations. The reality is far different, as close observers of politics know: Big businesses almost always prefer favors to free markets. Hence, big business eagerly works with both parties to ensure a steady stream of narrow tax breaks, subsidies, and countless other forms of corporate welfare. In *The Big Ripoff*, investigative reporter Timothy P. Carney neatly documents the countless ways big business has succeeded in plundering state and local governments, hurting consumers and taxpayers in the process.

The first part of the book deals with the relationship that wealthy individuals and big business have with fiscally liberal officeholders and the Democratic party. Carney demonstrates that corporate PACs frequently give large donations to Democrats, and even larger donations when Democrats hold political power. Additionally, during the most recent election cycle, nearly all of the multimillion-dollar contributions went to groups that supported Democrats and other liberal causes. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the cozy relationship between big business and the Left is that Barbara Lee, the only member of Congress to vote against military intervention in Afghanistan, receives more in corporate contributions than does Ron Paul, the most libertarian member of Congress.

In subsequent chapters, Carney demonstrates the benefits business reaps from these big contributions. He shows, for example, how large donations to both parties from the agribusiness Archer Daniels Midland keep federal ethanol subsidies flowing. Another culprit is Enron, which—despite its frequent proclamations in favor of free markets—eagerly supported regulation in California and elsewhere that benefited Enron at the expense of its competitors.

Even the famous 1997 tobacco settlement is an example of this unhealthy relationship—because it ended up being a boon to big tobacco. Even though the tobacco companies had to reimburse millions in state Medicaid funds, the settlement prevented smaller tobacco companies from charging lower prices than the tobacco giants.

Similarly, General Motors supported the stricter emissions standards of the 1970 Clean Air Act because it had done more research on reducing emissions and could better afford the mandate. Also in the 1970s, most large airlines fought aggressively against airline deregulation, because the existing regulations blocked competition and assured them substantial profits. Today, many big businesses support environmental regulations because their smaller competitors frequently lack the resources to comply with them. In fact, many large corporations even donate large sums to environmentalist groups such as World Wildlife Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Big businesses almost always prefer favors to free markets—hence they eagerly work with both parties to ensure a steady stream of corporate welfare.

Even more surprising than corporate contributions to environmental groups is the extent to which businesses seek to impose higher taxes on everyone. Many corporations support estate taxes because they are largely exempt from them. Furthermore, many corporations have made tidy profits by purchasing businesses that individuals have had to sell because of onerous estate taxes.

While California's historic 1978 tax-relief measure, Proposition 13, was avidly supported by homeowners and some realtors, big business provided very little financial support. More recently, Colorado businesses showed little enthusiasm for Colorado's Taxpayer's Bill of Rights (TABOR) when it was introduced in 1992 and even worked to loosen TABOR's tight fiscal limits in a 2005 referendum.

Overall, Carney does a fine job of detailing the countless types of preferential treatment corporations obtain from elected officials. But what makes this book unique is that Carney provides numerous illustrations of the damage that corporate welfare does to ordinary citizens. While many conservatives and libertarians can make an effective theoretical case against corporate welfare, Carney vividly describes the human costs of these programs—introducing readers to people who have lost their jobs because their property was seized through eminent domain, or because the Export-Import Bank subsidized domestic companies to move overseas.

My only complaint is that Carney could have made somewhat clearer the distinction between large and small businesses on these issues. While big business often supports higher taxes and more regulation, small business historically has tended to be more hostile toward big government. Carney mentions this, but doesn't make enough of it. Furthermore, he concludes the book without giving practical advice on what readers can do to combat corporate welfare. But by documenting its detrimental effect on workers, consumers, and taxpayers, he has rendered an important service. **NR**

Mr. New is an adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute, a summer fellow at the Heritage Foundation, and an assistant professor at the University of Alabama.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ MUSIC ■

A Monster & More

JAY NORDLINGER

It was a fairly big event, in the fairly small world of classical music. This June, Elliot Goldenthal's opera *Grendel* had its premiere at the Los Angeles Opera, and, about a month later, it traveled to New York, to be the centerpiece of the Lincoln Center Festival. This opera had buzz; and it was not entirely undeserved.

Goldenthal is a versatile composer, having written for the movies, Broadway, ballet—everything. In 2003, he won an Oscar for his score to *Frida*, one of the dullest movies ever made, despite its promise of swarthy sensuality. (The movie gives the life of Frida Kahlo.)

The director of that movie was Julie Taymor, who, ordinarily, is anything but dull. The partner of Goldenthal both onstage and off, so to speak, Taymor too has a versatile career. No realm is quite closed to her. Broadway's *Lion King* is her doing, and so is the Metropolitan Opera's current production of *The Magic Flute*, which has many *Lion King* touches: puppetry, wizardry, mystery, and delight.

For *Grendel*, there could have been no director but Taymor. She is co-librettist, too, with J. D. McClatchy, a Hofmannsthal for our time. He seems to have a hand in every American opera that gets composed (by William Schuman, Ned Rorem, Tobias Picker, and others). *Grendel* is based on John Gardner's 1971 novel of the same name; it reimagines *Beowulf* from the monster's point of view.

In brief, Grendel is a victim: lousy childhood, misunderstood, no one to talk to. Human beings were mean to him—very mean—and this made him . . . well, monstrous. The human world is unwilling for him to reform, because they "need an enemy." You know the rap—very modern.

But our chief concern is the music, the sine qua non of any opera. Music must not be allowed to get lost in the externals—and in a Julie Taymor–directed opera, there are many, many externals. For the monster story, she has summoned all of her magic, using every bell and whistle. I could only watch in amazement. But one remembers to listen too.

In the manner of lots of American operas, Goldenthal's score is eclectic—wildly so. He gives us movie music (broadly speaking) and ballet music (ditto). He gives us primitivism, jazz, Wagnerism (or Wagnerian parody). He goes in for several angry marches. And he is no slouch in the lyrical department. He can really spin out a melody, when he wants to.

MAX MORSE/REUTERS

Eric Owens sings Grendel

But *Grendel* suffers from a busyness, which can result in tedium. This is another American hallmark: Music tends to be busy-busy-busy, and, in this freneticism, things get dull. You want to say to composers, "Relax, don't worry about showing off, and let it flow."

Grendel is not a failure, musically. (And theatrically, it is a clear success.) But its score is competent rather than distinguished, honorable rather than inspired. I should hasten to say that one hears worse. Also, Goldenthal and Taymor are an extraordinary couple, undeniably. When they do something, I want to experience it, which is some kind of commendation.

■ Composers are always complaining of being ignored, but Jay Greenberg has less cause than others. Two years ago, he was placed in what may be our culture's ultimate showcase: a *60 Minutes* segment. Greenberg is a fine composer, but that can't quite explain CBS's interest. What explains it is that Greenberg—Jay, I should say—was twelve years old.

One of his instructors at the Juilliard School compared him to the greatest child prodigies in history: Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Saint-Saëns. Those are the three he named. I would throw in Korngold, whose early efforts—particularly *Der Schneemann*, a pantomime—can compete with anyone's.

Like Mozart (!), Jay Greenberg hears a piece of music in his head, and writes it down. It is already there, complete, "performed," mentally. All it needs is to be transcribed. Jay doesn't use a piano or any other instrument to compose. Apparently, he doesn't revise. No, he simply plops it down.

Now and then, he hears more than one piece at a time. "Multiple channels" are being filled, according to the composer. He has said he can "control" two or three pieces at the same time—"along with the channel of everyday life." So there.

From Sony Classical, we now have a disc featuring Jay's Symphony No. 5 and his Quintet for Strings. They are performed by top-notch musicians (the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by José Serebrier, and the Juilliard String Quartet, plus one—a second cello). Would you be interested in these works if they were not the products of an adolescent? Oh, yes—you can forget his age entirely, if you wish.

The Fifth Symphony makes obvious that Jay is a craftsman: an orchestrator, a developer, a technical whiz. And his musical ideas seem to flow easily, naturally. He plays around with melodies like—well, like a kid, with no evident strain. There are stretches of banality, but relatively few.

Jay's symphony is essentially tonal, with modernist touches here and there. He does not seem to be copying anything, or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anyone. The composer I most often hear is Shostakovich, but this is not imitation. Influence, maybe. Jay seems to belong to no school, to be working no idiom. Both the Fifth Symphony and the string quintet are hard to pigeonhole, or even categorize. We might come to call them Greenbergesque.

The quintet is, if anything, more impressive than the symphony. Like the larger piece, it is well wrought, and it has the intimacy—the immediacy of communication—that chamber music should have. The final movement (Prestissimo) is squirmy, sassy, in-your-face. I believe it also contains some irony, which is a decidedly mature trait.

No one can say what Jay Greenberg will develop into, and early success can prove a burden. But even if he composes nothing else—unthinkable—he has already given us something to listen to.

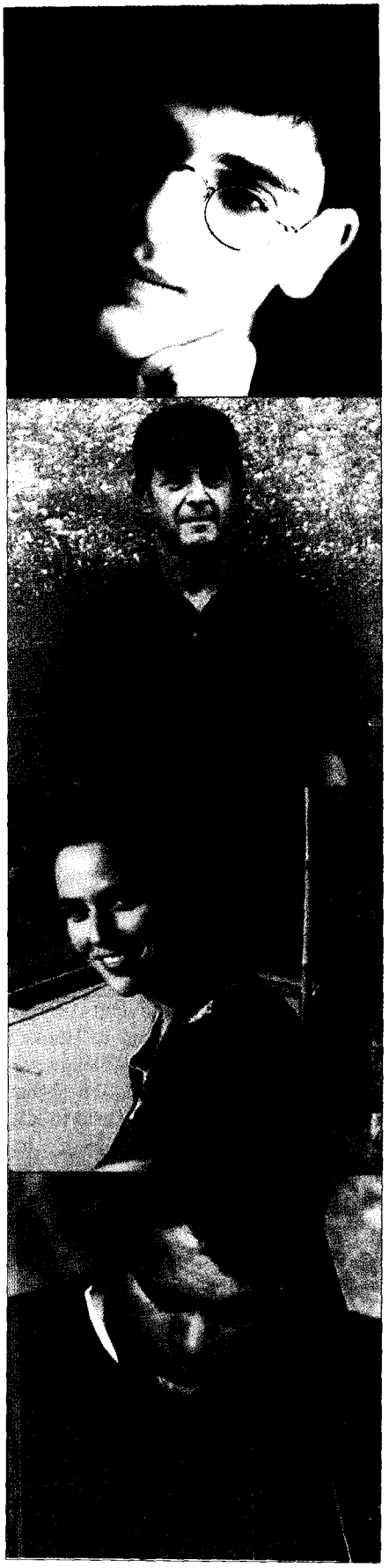
■ Steve Reich has given us a lot to listen to. Ten years ago, I wrote an extensive piece on him, marveling that the bad boy of minimalism could be 60. Well, guess what he is now?

His latest album (from Nonesuch, his faithful label) offers two works, both written in the last few years. The major work is *You Are (Variations)*, for a diverse ensemble including voices. The work is in four parts, all with religious or philosophical headings. (The opening part is headed "You are wherever your thoughts are." The sentence is from an 18th-century Hasidic mystic.)

This opus is energetic, logical, and possibly mesmerizing. If you give in to it, you enter that Reichian haze, or groove—and it is a happy place to be. Indeed, this work on the whole is exceptionally happy and affirmative. Reich knows how to use those voices, and also his beloved marimbas, and the other instruments.

The second work on this disc is *Cello Counterpoint*, for eight cellos—or just one, if you are in the recording studio and can avail yourself of the technological tricks. That is what Maya Beiser does here. The piece is driving, insistent, and tightly woven. It is calibrated to the nth degree. And, like *You Are (Variations)*, it is cheerful and contented.

As you should be too, after listening to this album—provided you can surrender to the minimalist vibe. Reich, now a veritable old master, makes it pretty easy.



From top: Jay Greenberg, Steve Reich, Clarice Assad, and Edgar Meyer

GREENBERG/BILL PHELPS · REICH/PETER SERLING · MEYER/SONY BMG

■ Clarice Assad is a Brazilian composer, a member of the prominent family. Her father is Sergio, and her uncle is Odair, those guitar-playing Assads. As Assads go, you certainly want the Brazilian musicians over the Syrian dictators.

The guitarists have often teamed with Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg, the popular American violinist. (Speaking of *60 Minutes* segments—she had one of those, too.) And Clarice has written her a concerto, which you will find on a live CD: Salerno-Sonnenberg performs with the Colorado Symphony Orchestra, under Marin Alsop. (The label—NSS—is the violinist's own. If you're a musician, that's one way to reduce corporate hassles.)

The Assad concerto is songful, rhapsodic, pleasant. It's a little Latin, a little schmaltzy, a little bubblegum. Sometimes it sounds like an approximation of a Romantic concerto—a *Warsaw Concerto* (remember that?) for fiddle.

But one should not be too scornful or dismissive. Assad has talent, and that talent will likely grow. (The composer is in her late 20s.) In the meantime, this violin concerto can be listened to with pleasure, which is no small thing. And Salerno-Sonnenberg has something new, showy, and likable to play.

■ Finally, consider Edgar Meyer—one of the most unusual musicians we have. He's a crack double bassist, and a composer: of what we can call "classical music," of bluegrass, of crossover. Meyer is Joe Hybrid.

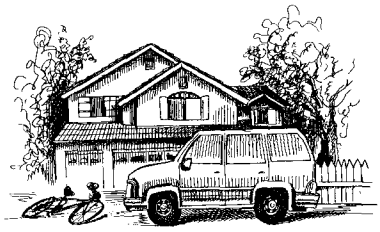
His current album—called, straightforwardly, *Edgar Meyer* (Sony Classical)—gives us 14 new compositions. And they are all performed by the composer, on a slew of instruments. Several of these instruments play at the same time. Come again? This is accomplished, of course, through studio hocus-pocus—"multitrack recording," more formally. Meyer pulls it off with sincerity and panache.

The new pieces carry such charming titles as *Catch and Release*, *Please Don't Feed the Bear*, and *Whatever*. The music is jazzy, bluesy, riffy. Meyer has a wonderful mind, and that mind is wonderfully musical. Moreover, he is a tireless promoter of American "roots" music. The country is lucky to have him, and the bass is lucky to have him, and the music world at large is pretty lucky to have him. What more can I say? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

I Sing the Hobby Electric



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

My wife, a very frugal person, ever on the lookout for household savings, recently instructed me that we must unplug all electric devices when we are not using them. What, the TV? Yes, the TV. Computers? Yes, computers. The standard lamps? Yes, the standard lamps. Apparently she had read something in a magazine about how much electricity appliances use when standing idle. I am not sure she got it right, though.

"The electricity leaks out if you keep the appliance plugged in," she instructed me.

"In that case, wouldn't it just leak out of the empty wall receptacles anyway?" I asked.

She had no answer. I did not feel myself on very sure ground either, so I did not pursue the topic further. For a couple of days I tried to comply with the new directive, but all sorts of obstacles showed up. The plug to the microwave is well-nigh inaccessible in a crevice behind the kitchen cabinets. The computers all have uninterruptible power supplies that go into a frenzy of demonic beeping if unplugged. Nobody could figure out how to stop the beeping; nobody could find the instruction manual. The laptop is plugged in for recharging when not in use. The standard lamp receptacle is behind our very heavy sofa . . . and so on. Now, a week later, I believe the only idle electric appliance we are still conscientiously unplugging is the kettle.

Electricity is of course a great boon to mankind, but I can't say I have ever considered it a friend of mine. My earliest memories of the stuff date from my childhood in England, where, for reasons I do not know, but probably arising from the post-WWII Attlee government's experiment in socialism, British retailers were not permitted to sell electrical appliances with a plug attached. This edict—which would have done credit to the famously crazy Caliph al-Hakim of Egypt, who prohibited chess and women's shoes, and punished cheating merchants by having one of his slaves (the fellow's name was Masoud) sodomize them—meant that the British consumer, having bought his appliance, was obliged to buy a plug separately and wire it up at home, or pay someone to do it for him. My father, another tightwad, chose to do the wiring himself. Since he was the clumsiest man in the entire East Midlands, possessed of large blunt fingers and a short temper, it is a miracle that the Derbyshires were not incinerated. As soon as I was old enough to grasp the situation, I secretly went round the house rewiring all the plugs.

At school, electricity became a subject, part of Physics. It was the part I enjoyed least. Optics was a wonderful game of hide-and-seek, with the mysterious image doing the hiding, though sometimes you could capture it, miraculous and tiny, on a sheet of white card. Mechanics let you indulge a boy's passion for crashing things into other things—blocks sliding down slopes, or across tables under friction, or swinging at the end of pendulums, or wobbling on springs according to Hooke's rather obvious law. Electricity, though, was a dull affair of iron filings and Wheatstone Bridges. The iron filings seemed to take pleasure in doing the opposite of what they were supposed to do, and I never did understand what was happening in a Wheatstone Bridge, though I went through the drills, noted the results, and passed the exams capably enough.

It was there, in Physics class, that I parted company with electricity. Our teacher—he died in 1965, after I had graduated, from the consequences of having been gassed on the Western Front a half-century earlier—told us that electric current was like water flowing along a hosepipe, with voltage being equivalent to the water pressure, and amperage the rate of flow. In that case, I asked, should not a severed electric cable squirt electricity out from its free end? No, replied the old Tommy, the electricity would flow only if the potential at its destination were lower than at its source. The thought that then sneaked into my mind was of course: *How does it know?* I did not venture to ask out loud for fear of seeming a fool, but my interest in electricity ended just there.

That was the case, anyway, at the level of amps, volts, and ohms. Studying math at university, I took a course on electromagnetic theory, the end point of which was the derivation of Maxwell's equations in their tensor form. It is a beautiful, beautiful theory, from which the universal constant *c*—the speed of light *in vacuo*—drops out like a perfectly shelled walnut. It all seemed very ethereal, though, in quite a different realm from Mr. Wheatstone and his bridges, or Dad's potentially lethal fumblings with Live and Ground.

Much, much later I acquired my present house, a cozy 1925 colonial in the outer New York suburbs. At the time we moved in, the wiring had been altered very little since the Coolidge administration. There was a single two-up receptacle per room: as an elderly neighbor explained, one outlet for the standard lamp, one for a phonograph or radio. On a trip to Home Depot I picked up a handbook on electrical wiring and commenced to study it, in defiance of a bumper sticker I saw at around the same time, mass-produced by the electricians' union no doubt, warning that WIRING IS NOT A HOBBY: HIRE A PROFESSIONAL.

At the risk of lifetime ostracism by union electricians, I can tell you that in fact wiring *is* a hobby, and a rather engrossing one. I quickly got up to speed on junction boxes, GFCI, the difference between BX and Romex, and the value of a good fish tape. My house's wiring is now state of the art, or very nearly so. The only thing that defeated me was a four-way switch. Three-way switches I had easily mastered, and it stood to reason that a four-way switch should be only 33 percent more difficult to wire up. Not so: After many hours of scrutinizing appropriate websites, and trying to decipher the cryptic, multilingual little instruction sheets that come with electrical doodads, I gave up and immured the wretched main switch behind a panel of sheetrock, leaving the surviving switches in the circuit to work as a three-way. Plainly I have attained my level of incompetence as an electrician. And I still don't understand why electricity doesn't spray out from the end of a severed cable. NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$400 WEEKLY ASSEMBLING PRODUCTS. For free information, send SASE: Home Assembly—NR Box 216, New Britain, CT 06050-0216

CHRISTIAN-BASED TECHNOLOGY COMPANY

Are you looking for:

- A Career Working from Home
- Time Freedom and Choices
- Part-Time and Full-Time Income
- $81K Average Manager Income
- Genuine Business Opportunity
- 19-Year-Old Stable Company
- Certified for Space Technology

Did you know:

- There are 18 million home businesses in the US today!
- Home business is 53% of all small business in America!
- Home business owners work 10 hours less per week than others! Families matter!

Call and talk to us today.
Toll Free: 877-336-9984

ENTERTAINMENT

Need a band for your special event? Don't have the slightest desire to "get" hip-hop and wish Madonna would just shut up and go away (and doesn't it feel good to say so)? www.BlackSombreroBrass.com

FOR SALE

www.**PosterDesignXpress**.com
Historic Posters
interesting/original/inexpensive

NEW

NRO CLASSIFIEDS!

Low-cost, high-impact opportunity to reach 1,000,000+ proven buyers—online!

CHECK US OUT:
store.nationalreview.com/classifieds

HOTELS

Use **BidonTravel.com** tips for the lowest prices on great hotels.

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

ALL-SUITE COMFORT IN THE HEART OF FOGGY BOTTOM

Enjoy unique comfort and style in our cozy, tree-lined residential neighborhood.

- Spacious suites with full kitchens
- Tastefully renovated with quality furnishings
- Two blocks from GWU/Foggy Bottom Metro
- Complimentary high-speed internet access
- The acclaimed *DISH* restaurant on-premises

888-874-0100

THE·RIVER·INN
924 25th Street, NW • Washington DC 20037
THERIVERINN.COM

OF INTEREST TO ALL

THE IMPERIAL WOODPECKER. 2 weeks horseback. In cooperation with gentlemen of the Cattleman's Association of Durango, Mexico. At:
www.conservativebirders.com

PERSONALS

Honolulu. Seeking strong Christian for marriage: kayokomccurdy@msn.com

PUBLISHING

CONSERVATIVE PUBLISHER SEEKS POLITICALLY INCORRECT MANUSCRIPTS. EDITOR READS ALL SUBMISSIONS. 541-459-6043.
ELDERBERRYPRESS.COM

NEVER SAY MURDER—Politically incorrect murder mystery published without the permission of the eastern liberal establishment. The Midwest Book Review calls it, "A great tale!"
www.neversaymurder.com

REAL ESTATE

ANOTHER WORLD—
Panama City Beach, Fla.
Fish, Golf, Surfing, & Clubs. Name it, we have it! Clarkreal.com.
800-321-5734. Clark Realty, Inc.
Panama City Beach, Fla. 32407

RELIGION

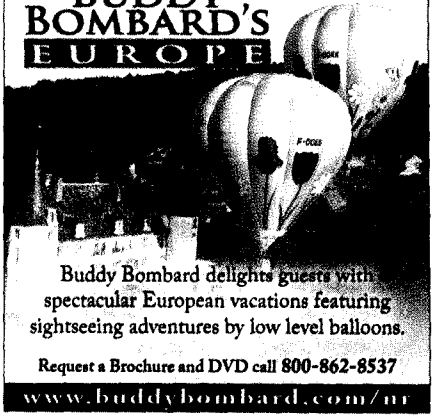
TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WORSHIP, CATHOLIC FAITH, EVANGELICAL PREACHING. Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

Christian History and Theory adult Sunday school courses. Free Content. $15 for PowerPoints.
wwwsundayschoolcourses.com

TRAVEL

MAUI KAPALUA GOLF VILLA—ELEGANT TOWNHOUSE FOR TWO
www.kapaluagolfcondo.com
415-681-4100

BUDDY BOMBARD'S EUROPE
Celebrating 30 years



Buddy Bombard delights guests with spectacular European vacations featuring sightseeing adventures by low level balloons.

Request a Brochure and DVD call 800-862-8537
www.buddybombard.com/nr

VACATION RENTALS

Maine seasonal rental. Weekly apartment, active farm on private island, accessible by road, nestled in pasture, orchard, and pine forest. Salt water for kayaking. Country roads for biking. $600. Call 207-882-7636.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min).
Call: Kevin Longstreet, 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: Every other Friday (approx. 6 days before the magazine is printed).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

A Charter for Buffett-Gates

NEW YORK, JUNE 27

THE marriage of Buffett and Gates was a truly exhilarating event, even though it leaves the world hanging on the question whether there will be offspring remotely tall enough to do their parents proud.

The achievements were of separate orders. In the case of Bill Gates, you have, really, an invention. Whatever else came along, it is Microsoft's evolving operating system that was at the center of it, just as the automobile was at the center of the career of Henry Ford.

In the case of Warren Buffett, it was prudential brainpower working with the power of compound interest. His company, under his direction, bought and sold for more than 40 years. He was not a man who contributed the idea of an automobile, or an operating system to drive a computer that did the work of 10,000 scribes. He simply looked around and bought this and sold the other, and in a little while he discovered that he was the second-richest man in the world.

What do you do when you are the second-richest? Why, unite with No. 1. The two men spoke genially of each other on the *Charlie Rose Show*, revealing quiet admiration for singular talents and the special kind of joy that comes to an entity (the Gates Foundation) that yesterday was worth $30 billion, today is worth $60 billion.

But here are critical matters Buffett and Gates didn't discuss. The first of these is retrospective.

What thoughts do we have about the means by which these men accumulated a greater wealth than all the gold brought out of the New World by Spain? After the Gilded Age, a generation was given to analyzing what had happened. Recriminations crystallized, and major reforms were institutionalized, which provided against monopoly agglomerations.

But there hasn't been much critical commentary in the matter of Buffett-Gates. In the matter of Buffett, the reason for the lack of criticism is obvious. There isn't a law against trading, and shouldn't be. In the matter of Gates, it is generally sensed that competition is already modestly in play. There is no canvas, save that which fumes at the capitalist system, in which he figures as a predatory beast.

But there was something else missing from the collaboration of Buffett and Gates with Charlie Rose. It was to be expected that Buffett would say about the Gates Foundation that it was the best foundation, so to speak, on the market. But he failed to say what it was that made it distinctive. We did get from Buffett that he thinks the market does a pretty good job. "I'm a big believer in the market system 95 percent of the time, but—it's done pretty well for me."

The stated goal of Buffett-Gates is to address the two enduring problems of mankind, pestilence and poverty. But they did not tell us what exactly they intend to do, and it was disappointing that they didn't inquire into what it is that engenders poverty and sustains it.

For all that Gates talked about poverty, no thought was expressed on the cause of it. There was a passing derogation from Buffett: "A market system has not worked in terms of people, poor people around the world, with something—with a disease [cure] that should be available for just peanuts."

What they did not talk about is the endemic economic ignorance. More money even than their new foundation has accumulated has been spent in the last 40 years attempting to alleviate the hunger and disease of Africa, but journalists and scholars have relentlessly documented the terrible misjudgments—political misjudgments—that stand in the way of a productive war on poverty, which is what happens only when property is private and secure, government is nonintrusive, and political ideologies run out of town.

There is a challenging charter for Buffett-Gates.

Did He Kiss Joe?

NEW YORK, JULY 5

I WAS thinking, gee whiz, maybe I am one of the reasons Sen. Joe Lieberman is having such a tough time running for reelection in Connecticut. Here's the story:

In October, we threw a great big party in Washington celebrating the 50th anniversary of NATIONAL REVIEW magazine, which I founded—well that's easy: 50 years ago.

At celebratory events, one invites celebrities, not merely fellow cultists. So in the morning, the White House gave us a special seminar, and then lunch with the president for a few of us. That evening at a grand reception pre-dinner, Condi Rice was there, and assorted congressmen and journalists. When I reached the head table I found Senator Lieberman, two or three seats away from Rush Limbaugh.

I don't actually remember having a personal hand in deciding who sat at the head table, but I was not surprised to see Joe Lieberman. We have a few ties.

Ten years after I served as chairman of the *Yale Daily News*, he was elected to that position, and we found ourselves sharing an obligation to look after an old employee and his unruly son. This brought on several meetings, amiable, but without any dissimulations: He was a rising young Democratic star, I a risen conservative star. But we had a common role in effecting the fall of a Republican star, incumbent Sen. Lowell Weicker.

Senator Weicker aroused such animus among alert conservative citizens of Connecticut that a few of us took solemn oaths to work against his reelection in 1988—when he was opposed by Joe Lieberman.

Members of my family were no doubt influenced by Senator Weicker's reluctance to admit brother James Buckley, elected U.S. senator from New York, to membership in the Republican caucus. Weicker made the point that Senator Buckley had been elected not on the GOP ticket, but on the Conservative party ticket. A committee was formed (BuckPac) arguing that a vote for Lieberman was a vote for ideological decontamination of the Republican party, Weicker having emerged as the weepiest liberal willow in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public life. Moreover, he had perfected a self-infatuated pomposity that made voting against him a carnal pleasure.

In any event, though Lieberman did not move one inch rightward, we of the Connecticut Right made common cause with him in the defeat of Weicker. And, two terms later, he was designated by Al Gore as running mate in the race against George Bush, which happily Lieberman lost. However, his early backing of the Iraq war was a hard commitment and now he suffers for it. The hard-leftist gang, dominated by George Soros and Barbra Streisand, came up with a peachy young man in Greenwich who is rich and handsome and seeks to replace Lieberman in the Senate. Guarding against the possibility that Ned Lamont would win the primary, Lieberman decided to begin amassing the support he would need to run as an independent. It is the ideological minorities that are best represented in primary contests, and Lieberman is willing to give up his seat but only in a contest in which all Democrats figure. Lieberman will probably win the primary but if not, he will probably go on to win as an independent.

But the narrative returns to the 50th anniversary dinner, at which Lieberman and I were seated at the same table. In the days that followed, the Democratic blogosphere gave him hell for showing up at my party, reading into his presence there ideological courtship, never mind that Lieberman has been a stalwart Democratic 90 percent of his times at bat.

But in looking into Lieberman's vulnerabilities I discovered in Wikipedia this item: "Following his 2005 state of the union address, President Bush . . . abruptly grasped Lieberman's head in both hands and kissed him on the cheek. At first, Lieberman's staff humorously referred to the embrace as 'some kind of Yale thing.' However, as political backlash against the peck arose, Lamont's supporters have appropriated the incident into a campaign button: 'The Kiss: Too Close for Comfort.' Lieberman has since denied the kiss ever took place. 'I don't think he kissed me. He learned over and gave me a hug and said 'thank you for being a patriotic American,' Lieberman told *Time* magazine."

So I said to myself, thinking back on our celebration in October, "Thank God I didn't kiss Joe!" Down Joe, down!

Debating Over a Corpse?

NEW YORK, JULY 11

Eyes do not wander from the race in Connecticut, kicked off by a debate between the incumbent, Sen. Joseph Lieberman, and the challenger, Ned Lamont. Commenting on the race, David Brooks, a seer and a columnist for the *New York Times*, has ventured that it foretells what may be a remarkable divide. If Lamont beats Lieberman, the message to voters across the U.S. will be that the Democratic tent is on an exclusivist roll. None may feel at home in it who tolerated, let alone encouraged, the war in Iraq. It challenges the imagination to wonder what will be the political declamations at the Democratic convention in 2008 if the Democrats are to be the party that kicked out sitting senator Joe Lieberman six years after he was named their vice presidential candidate, notwithstanding that 90 percent of his Senate votes have been with his party, opposing President Bush.

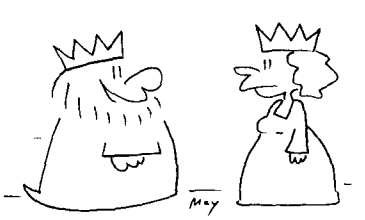
A close study of the transcript of the July 6 encounter brings to mind the sad state of debate between candidates of the same party. Here they were, together for one hour, and divided, really, on only the issue of whether our military venture in Iraq a) should be terminated by fixed schedule, and b) was worthwhile to begin with. The challenger, Lamont, didn't spend much time on how we should never have got into Iraq to begin with. This was so because manifestly he didn't want to appear a statue of indifference while Lieberman went on about life under Saddam Hussein. Lamont's refrain is about Getting Out, not about how We Should Not Have Got In. In 1972, the Democrats were in terrible shape. The Vietnam War was just about done, but retrospective regret that it had ever been undertaken could not be expressed except as regret that LBJ had been president during the years in which the pursuit of a free Vietnam had been U.S. policy. What happened politically was a Republican victory in 49 states. If Lamont succeeds in discharging Lieberman as an unacceptable Democrat, voters by the millions will think of themselves as disfranchised.

When Lieberman got into his peroration at the debate he said about himself what a debate coach might have counseled him to say. He gave evidence of his institutional qualifications to continue in office. Look who has supported me! "The AFL-CIO wouldn't have supported me if they didn't think I would fight for jobs in this state." (Was he saying the unions preferred jobs for Connecticut as against jobs for New York?) "Planned Parenthood wouldn't have supported me if they weren't confident that I was for women's reproductive rights." (In Connecticut, all Democrats are on the side of abortion.) And, "The Human Rights Campaign political action committee wouldn't have supported me if I had been fighting [other than to] protect people from discrimination based on sexual orientation." Does that do it? The big tent, model 2006, for the Democratic party?

Mr. Lieberman resents the high price of oil. So does Mr. Lamont. Who resents it more? Waal, they can fight over that one. Mr. Lieberman can say that there were parts of the energy bill he didn't approve of, and he's trying to pull them back up for a revised vote. Apropos of the high cost of oil, he has introduced "excess profits legislation, which would tax the oil companies and give it back to consumers for their outrageous rip-off of consumers." Has it been established that there is U.S. extortion or monopoly pricing in oil? Did the Republicans invent OPEC?

The Republicans have tactical and strategic interests in the Lieberman race. If Lamont wins the primary and a Democratic seat is forfeited, that's a tactical victory: one more Republican vote in the Senate. But if the correlation is a dramatic shrinkage in the Democratic vote nationwide—a million Democrats unable to squeeze into the narrower tent—then that would be a strategic result that would imperil the two-party system.

—Universal Press Syndicate



"That government is best which governs least, so I think I'll go take a nap."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

The Big Question

ACROSS Vermont and Massachusetts and even parts of New Hampshire, the bumper stickers proclaim confidently, WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER.

And they have a point. War isn't the answer so much as a question: What are you? And is what you are worth defending? There have been two answers to that recently. Jens Orback, Sweden's minister of democracy, said in a radio discussion, "We must be open and tolerant towards Islam and Muslims because when we become a minority, they will be so towards us."

Who knows? Maybe he's right. In Malmo, where the Muslim population is large and growing, ambulance drivers will not go into most areas without police escort. Still, maybe that will change when the health and justice ministries are in Muslim hands.

But for Israel it's not an open question. They know that Hezbollah and Hamas and Iran don't just want to win, to rule, to dominate: They want to kill every last Jew—or, if that's just an opening negotiating position, at the very least drive them out of the Middle East. Israelis have no choice but to cut straight to the real question: Is what we are worth defending? And so they have acted, not just to punish Hezbollah but also to send a message to the larger enemies beyond.

The problem is that much of the world—the transnational agencies, the global summits, the EU, the ICC—is in the hands of men like Mr. Orback. Do you know the name Jim Callaghan? No reason you should. He was prime minister of the United Kingdom before Mrs. Thatcher. In fact, he's the reason the Brits wound up electing Mrs. Thatcher. Very nice chap. Affable, decent, modest. But he once confided to a friend of mine that he thought Britain's decline was irreversible and that the government's job was to manage it as gracefully as possible. He wasn't alone in this: An entire generation of Britain's political class, on both sides of the aisle, felt much the same way. So their instinct, when confronted with a crisis, was to "manage" it rather than solve it.

Does that sound familiar? There are now calls for the U.N. to send peacekeepers into southern Lebanon—in other words, to protect Hezbollah from getting battered any further by Israel. But hang on, aren't there already U.N. peacekeepers in Lebanon? Why, yes. But, as the old song says, "Who takes care of the caretaker's daughter while the caretaker's busy taking care?" Or as Roger Ailes of Fox News quipped on the day Patrick Kennedy was released from rehab: "At the Capitol, they're installing crash barriers to protect the crash barriers."

Nice chap, manager of decline

TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY

The defeatism of the Callaghan generation had its limits: It foresaw economic decline, and geopolitical decline. The defeatism of the Jens Orback generation goes beyond that: It accepts civilizational suicide—as a given, can't be reversed, no choice but to embrace our fate. If you don't share that view, then every time you cut the Orbacks of the world in on the decision-making process you're making your position worse.

"You may not be interested in war," said Trotsky, "but war is interested in you." The Israelis have always grasped that. If war is going to come, why not ensure that it comes at a time and place as advantageous to one as possible? That's a large part of what's happening in the Middle East. If you try to avoid confronting Iran now, you'll only have to confront them under worse circumstances later. Jimmy Carter, who embodied the West as a smiling eunuch, wanted to avoid confronting the newborn Islamic Republic three decades ago and now it's a nuclear power.

As I always say, there is no "stability": Behind the polite façade of the U.N. peacekeepers patrolling the stalemate, history is always on the move; the bad guys get new weapons, new rockets—and, as we've seen in Haifa, these bad guys use what they have to their full extent. So what will they have in five years' time?

Within the American Right, there's an argument about whether this is World War III (as Newt Gingrich sees it) or World War IV (as Norman Podhoretz has designated it, III being the Cold War). It's not just semantic: It gets to the heart of how we see the struggle. If WWIII were like I and II, it would be an easier sell: carrier groups, massive invasions—that's the kind of war we do well. But if WWIV is like the Cold War, that's the kind we don't do at all well. If you think Jim Callaghan was a defeatist, what about Schmidt, Mitterrand, and Trudeau? The last's contribution to Cold War resolve was to let Cuban military transports refuel in Canada en route to Africa. I don't wish to put down just the political class here. With the best will in the world, one cannot credit the people of France or Italy with any meaningful role in the defeat of Communism. Au contraire, they elected large numbers of 'em to their own parliaments.

Of course, the Politburo's subject peoples were pretty enervated, too. Which was good news for us. This time round, the enemy is, to say the least, more motivated, and we're even more slumped in civilizational ennui. The U.N. and EU are in détente mode, but détente with a death cult makes even less sense than last time round. We're told by Chirac and Putin and Zapatero & Co. that Israel is being "disproportionate." And if "proportionate" means being like that Swede, they're right. But if the cry is "Death before disproportion!" then include me out. NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The 50th Anniversary of the Watch That Was Never Built

Sometimes lessons from history can be learned from things that never happened.

During an outdoor lunch overlooking the lake in Lugano Switzerland, I met with an old friend, a 4th generation master watch builder, Wolfgang Heck. His personal collection is legendary. We hunted through old watch models built by his father, grandfather and great grandfather as well as historic collectibles from the finest of all watchmakers. One classic really stood out. It was a 1956 multifunction automatic with 27 jewels. When I asked Wolfgang about it, he smiled and told me that since that was the only one of its kind ever made, it was the rarest watch in his collection. When his grandfather drew the engineering blueprints for the first one, he found that the movement was too complex for the technology of the day so he never built it for production. Instead the single masterpiece just sat in their family's personal collection. For the watch collectors and designers at Stauer, this was a stroke of luck. Our new advanced movement technology named the *Pantheon Project* was going to bring this masterpiece to life. The *Pantheon Project* takes historical collectors' items and uses today's advanced computerized engineering to enable us to recreate the glory of the world's finest designs with today's precision and accuracy.

The 50th Anniversary Lugano is tested for accuracy at the factory and re-tested by Stauer before we ship it to you.

Stauer is celebrating the 50th anniversary of the "Lugano"—a vintage timepiece never seen before. The gentleman's watches of the 1950's are currently among the most treasured at antique auction houses around the world, but now you can actually wear a 1950's designed watch that has today's accuracy and reliability. Our Lugano 1956 has a beautifully designed two-toned face with a classic 6 hand movement, a crocodile embossed leather band, screw-down crown, center lugs and a tachymeter. We were able to build the classic mechanical movement to a more accurate standard than the 50-year-old cousin's thanks to $26 million worth of state-of-the-art Swiss-built machinery. This "brand new" 50-year-old watch has the antiqued oxidized face, luminous hands, and day-date complications of the original. Thank you, Wolfgang, for a great lunch and a great peek into history. My trip to Switzerland was worth the jet lag.

Historical in-home trial. Enjoy the handsome 50th Anniversary Lugano timepiece risk-free for 30 days with the extraordinary price of only 3 payments of $39.95. If you are not thrilled with the quality and rare design, simply send it back for a full refund of the purchase price.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Stauer 50th Anniversary Lugano — *3 payments of 39.95*

866-864-7546

Promotional Code FAL137-01

Please mention this when you call. *Limited to stock on hand. Additional restrictions may apply.*

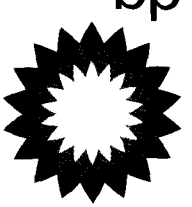
Stauer 14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. FAL137-01,
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our plans for biofuels are growing.

Tackling the challenges of supply and clean energy requires a new commitment. So we're planning to invest $500 million over the next 10 years to create the Energy Bioscience Institute, the world's first integrated research center dedicated to applying biotechnology to the energy industry. This continues BP's long-standing commitment to biofuels. In fact, BP has been selling biofuels in the U.S. for more than 25 years. Today, they're available in more than 20 states. It's a start.

bp



beyond petroleum®

bp.com

© 2006 BP p.l.c.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED